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EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

AWADH BIHARI PANDEY, D.PHIL.

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EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

BY

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CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT SERIES OFFICE
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3. Purva Madhyakalin Bharat (Hindi)
4. Bhartiya Shasan aur Samaj (Hindi)
5. Outlines of Civics
6. Nagarik Shastra ki Ruprekha (Hindi)
7. Bharatvarsha ka Itihas (Hindi) etc. etc.

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PREFACE

Early Medieval India is a free rendering into English of the revised edition of my Purva Madhya Kalin Bharat. It was at the initiative of the Publishers that the work was undertaken and I hope it may be of some service to those who either do not know Hindi or who still prefer to read through the English medium. It follows closely the general plan and arrangement of the Hindi version (Revised second edition).

It studies the history of early medieval India into six sections. The first or the introductory section deals with Arab and Turkish invaders upto the close of the 12th century. The next section deals with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi and brings out on the one hand the effort of the Ilbaris to wrest supremacy from the hands of the Rajputs and on the other a ceaseless struggle on the part of the latter to regain their lost possessions. The third section deals with the history of the next sixty years and unfolds the story of the expansion of the Sultanate till it reaches its zenith under Muhammad bin Tughluq. The next section marks the stages and character of the decline and downfall of the Sultanate during the next hundred years till it reaches its nadir under Alauddin Alam Shah. Section 5 presents Afghan effort at establishing their hegemony and concludes by pointing out the circumstances leading to their supersession by Babar. This finishes political and military history. The sixth and the last section begins by examining the character of Rajput Polity and Turko-Afghan Political Institutions and concludes by presenting a general survey of the nature of Early Medieval Society and Culture.

At the end of each chapter is appended a small list of books for supplementary reading. These lists are meant for the guidance of undergraduates and not the specialist.

At the end of the text, a Chronology and an Index has been appended. There are six specially drawn maps which it is hoped will assist correct understanding of the text.

I am very grateful to Shri M. L. Bhargava of the Central Book Depot, Allahabad but for whose initiative and enterprise, the book may not have been prepared at all. I am also indebted to my friend Shri N. G. Bhattacharya, for the excellent maps he has drawn for us.

Benares Hindu University
Varanasi
August 15, 1960.

A. B. Pandey

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Section 1

ADVENT OF ISLAM INTO INDIA

I. India and Arabia.
II. The Turkish Cavalcade.
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CHAPTER I

INDIA AND ARABIA

DIVISION OF INDIAN HISTORY INTO PERIODS :

The periodical division of the history of our country is associated with the rule of various races. Usually the period prior to the Muslim rule is termed as Ancient period and that under the British rule as Modern. The intervening period—that of Muslim domination—is called Mediæval. The history of Mediæval India will be presented in this volume in accordance with the above classification.

Among Muslims, Arabs were the first to come to this country. Although their military success did not produce far-reaching effects on the political history of this country as will be seen in the subsequent pages, yet Indo-Arabian relations have their own importance in Mediæval Indian History.

ARABIA : LAND AND PEOPLE.

The peninsula of Arabia is one of the three main peninsulas of Asia. It is situated in the western sector of the Asian continent. Most of its land is a sandy desert and rainfall is so meagre, that at times there is practically no rainfall in certain interior tracts for three or four years in succession. The climate is very hot and the population thin. Due to unfertility of the soil the population is all concentrated in the tracts situated on seashore or where there is some rainfall or a river, which makes human habitation possible.

THE DATE AND THE CAMEL :

The best edible produce of the fertile Arab lands is the date. It is the main item of the Arabian diet. Out of its juice an intoxicant liquor is brewed and the hard core of the date is ground into flour for preparing cakes for camels. Its importance is manifest from the fact that one of the sayings of prophet Mohammad is said to be, 'Honour your aunt the date which was made of the same clay as Adam.' The camel is as important among the Arab animals as date is amongst its edible products. It would have been impossible to live in the desert without it. The Arabs love it as if it were their foster father. The economic condition of Arabia may well be imagined from the above two facts.

THE PEOPLE OF ARABIA:

Despite economic distress, the Arab Bedouin passes his life in enterprise, pleasure and gaiety. He has three means of livelihood: animal husbandry, trade and plunder. He roams about in search of proper grazing ground for his herds and trades with the permanent population of the fertile lands and plunders them if need be. Thus his life is full of adventure, struggle and selfishness. The peculiar condition of his country has made his life unique. His home is a tent. People living in tents in one neighbourhood form a 'clan'. The community of friendly neighbouring clans is called a 'tribe'. The head of a 'clan' or a 'tribe' is called the 'sheikh.' He gets this post of pride on grounds of bravery, intelligence and seniority in age. An Arab may sacrifice everything for his clan or tribe for his life is impossible without it. Though selfish and quarrelsome, he is liberally hospitable as well. Fighting is his habitual trade. An Arab writer says 'Our business is to make raids on the enemy, on our neighbour and on our own brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother.' We may not rate an Arab highly but he considers himself far superior to the most civilised peoples and he is greatly proud of his freedom and purity of blood.

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FOREIGN CONTACTS :

The neighbouring countries of Arabia are Persia, Egypt, Greece, and beyond the seas—India. The trade between the east and the west had been carried along the Arabian sea coast and across its mainland from pre-historic days. Sayyad Sulaiman Nadvi has proved the existence of intimate Indo-Arab relations on solid authority. 'Since thousands of years, Arab traders had been frequenting the coastal regions of India and carried her finished goods and other articles of merchandise to Europe via Syria and Egypt, and brought the rarities from there to India, the East Indies and further beyond to China and Japan.' This foreign trade was generally in the hands of those Arabs who inhabited the towns in the coastal strips of Arabia. These included Mecca and Medina also. The main Indian harbours, frequented by Arab traders were Debal, Thana Cambay, Sopara, Jaimur, Kolimmali, Malabar and Cape Comorin. Beyond these places they went to further islands or through Bengal and Kamrup (Assam) to China.

INDIAN TRADE :

These traders exported a large variety of goods from India. The articles specially mentioned are scented wood, sandal wood, camphor, black-pepper clove, cardamom and other spices, coconut, mango, lemon, linen, velvety cotton cloth, green vitriol, lead, bamboo, cane, shoes, fancy earthenware, teakwood and other useful timbers, diamonds, pearls, ivory and musk. They imported into India Egyptian emerald rings, wines, Roman silks, fur, opium seed, and swords. Rosewater, dates and horses were also in good demand in this country.

This trade was not the monopoly of Arabs alone. Indian traders also visited the western countries through land and sea. These traders were called 'Banias' in Arabic. The people of this class are even today spread over a wide territory extending from the coastal regions of Arabia to Egypt. Most of these persons hail from Sindh, Punjab and Gujerat. Thus it is manifest that friendly relations between India and Arabia are very old. There are some stories which indicate that the Indian soldiers—Jats and Merhs, enlisted themselves into Arab forces but this happened after the birth of Islam.

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET OF ISLAM:

The founder of Islam—prophet Muhammad (570-632) spent many years of his life in trade, and in course of that he came in contact with a rich woman Khadijah (555-619). She later on married him, being impressed by his honesty. Muhammad knit together into a strong brother-hood the warring tribes of Arabia by his message of peace and fraternity. In Islam, Society, Religion and Politics are inextricably linked together. This new religion posits uncompromising faith in the unity of God and strongly condemned and rejected idol worship, theory of incarnation and inequality among men. Great stress has been laid on collective prayers, moderation, benevolence, brotherliness and lack of greed. Being the children of one God and the followers of his prophet all Muhammadans are like real brothers and sisters. It is a solemn obligation that rich persons should pay Zakat to help their poor brethren and that they should not charge interest on loans. At first the teachings of Muhammad were strongly opposed by the idolatrous Arabs. Even his near relations tried to murder him to safeguard their pecuniary gains. Therefore, in 622 he had to flee from Mecca to Medina—the birth place of his mother. After sometime, almost all the Arabs became followers of his religion because of the influence of his character, miracles or victories. This revolutionary event practically put an end to the internecine quarrels of Arab tribes, lessened their selfishness and superstition and filled them with fervour to propagate the message of 'Allah' far and wide. Muhammad and his successors took advantage of this situation and founded the Arab Empire which within a short span of sixty years extended from Spain in the West to China in the East.

Many factors contributed to this expansion. The administrative system propounded by the Caliphs after the death of Muhammad contained the doctrine of civic and political equality of all Arab people instead of domination by the priestly and the governing classes. The result was an all out cooperation of the oppressed classes with the invaders. Even in the conquered countries equal rights were accorded to the converts of Islam. Therefore the lower classes of these countries warmly welcomed Islam and helped the invaders against their own rulers. Secondly, the Arab leaders organised their army on a tribal basis and they established separate colonies of these tribes in the conquered territories, which helped to strengthen the roots of the new government. Thirdly, when the half-starved Arabs found articles of luxury and enjoyment in abundance in the lands of their visitation, they became all too eager to pursue their self-interest under the pretence of service to 'Allah'. Thus, when their religious interests were mingled with their economic interests, their progress became irresistible. Fourthly, the Islamic religious tenets were easy and simple and people of average intellect could readily understand and follow them. Fifthly, the administration of the neighbouring lands was weak and tottering and so incompetent to check the progress of the Arabs that their expansion was very rapid and each success made them bolder and even more enthusiastic.

EXPANSION OF THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM:

Most of the Arab tribal leaders had accepted the leadership of Muhammad during his life time. But after his death many false prophets emerged and many tribes renounced Islam. The first Caliph Abu Bakr (632-634) restored in Arabia the supremacy of the Islamic religion and state within a year with the help of Khalid and other generals. They then used these united tribals for the conquest of neighbouring countries. First Syria and Iraq were invaded. But before its successful completion he also died. During the rule of the second Caliph Umar (634-644) the victorious march was more pronounced and rapid. Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Mesopotamia and Persia were laid under Islamic conquest. Thus the Arab empire reached upto the borders of India. During this period Makran and Sistan also came under Arab rule, although an attack on Thana by sea failed and the Caliph did not allow an invasion of Sindh.

In the time of the third Caliph Usman (644-656) Hakim bin-Jabal was deputed to report on the feasibility of an Indian invasion. He opposed the move saying, "Water is scarce, fruits poor and robbers bold. If a small army is sent it will be destroyed while a large army will die of starvation." Thus the idea of Indian invasion was dropped.

From the time of Umar, a cleavage among Muhammadans started based on selfish interests, partisanship and mutual jealousies. Usman also fell a prey to this feud. After him during the reign of the fourth Caliph Ali (656-661) the empire was more or less divided owing to the opposition of Muawiya and in 661 Muawiya displaced Hasan the son and successor of Ali and founded the Umayyad Caliphate. After the accession of Muawiya the Caliph was more of an emperor and his religious leadership gradually waned.

Muawiya made Damascus his capital instead of Medina and Kufa. His family ruled upto 750. During this period the Muslim Empire extended from Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and most of central

Asia in the east, to many islands in the Aegean sea, Morocco in north Africa, a large part of Spain and France in the west. It was during this period of glorious expansion that the Arabs conquered Sindh.

WAR AGAINST DAHIR :

The main reason for the invasion of Sindh was not a desire for expansion but revenge. The pirates of Debal had plundered some Arab ships coming from Ceylon and had captured Muslim women and children. When this news reached Hajjaj, the governor of Iraq, he demanded from the contemporary ruler of Sindh, chastisement of the culprits. Dahir disowned responsibility of his subjects and suggested that it was the work of pirates who were not under his control. Hajjaj was infuriated at this evasive reply and to uphold the honour of the Caliph and his subjects he sent three generals in succession but the first two were routed by Dahir. The third general Muhammad bin Qasim was a nephew and son-in-law of Hajjaj. Muhammad bin Qasim had with him an army of 6,000 cavalry, an equal number of camel riders and an additional 3000 camels for transport. On reaching Makran he not only received the assistance of its ruler but also enlisted an army of Jats and Merhs who were dissatisfied with the Brahmin rule of Dahir. Sindh was previously ruled by Buddhists. The Buddhists were so hostile to this Brahmin dynasty that they were ready to welcome a foreign invader for the destruction of that dynasty. Dahir was so frightened that he evacuated the land west of the river Indus and decided to wage a defensive war along the eastern bank. The enemy's morale went up as they got hold of the western part of Sindh without fighting. Dahir was unsuccessful in the initial warfare on account of the opposition of Buddhists, help of Jats and Merhs to the enemy and better generalship of Muhammad bin Qasim. Over and above that, many dissatisfied officials also joined the victor's camp. Thus the Arabs got hold of Sindh very quickly due to internal dissension and selfish traitors.

FOUNDATION OF ARAB RULE IN INDIA:

Muhammad bin Qasim at first captured Debal and to terrorise the populace he massacred all men above seventeen. With local help he crossed the river Indus and captured Rabar, Brahmanabad, Alor, Sikka, and Multan and finished off the family of Dahir and established Arab rule over the whole of Sindh.

CAUSES OF ARAB SUCCESS:

Muhammad bin Qasim had achieved signal success and that too within a year. There were many reasons for that. Hajjaj had sent with him experienced soldiers, conversant with the new technique of Arab warfare. Secondly, the governor of Makran supplied him not only the help of the local army but also all topographical information. Thirdly, the Buddhists and Jats being dissatisfied with the policy of the Brahmin rulers of Sindh followed the path of treachery on securing from Hajjaj a promise of personal security. Fourthly, there was an Arab legion with the army of Dahir, which deserted to the enemy at the time of battle. The policy of Muhammad bin Qasim also helped him to achieve success. He terrorised the people by his cruelties at Debal and later on enlisted the support of neutral elements by his more lenient attitude. He accorded many concessions to Brahmins and by appointing them to high administrative posts easily controlled the Hindu public through them. The wrong strategy of Dahir made his task easier still.

ARAB SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT:

Muhammad bin Qasim established the Arab administrative system during his two years of rule (713-715). He gave religious freedom to all and promised to protect their temples. He did not change much the administrative machinery and allowed Indians to hold minor posts. Brahmins not only received some high posts but were also exempt from the *jizya* and other taxes. Land revenue was fixed between 1/5 and 2/5 of the total produce. But he put greater economic burden on non-muslims. They had to pay 48, 24 or 12 dirhams per annum per male adult as *jizya* in accordance with their economic status. This tax was not charged from women, children, Brahmins, priests or beggars. On conversion to Islam one was exempted from the payment of this tax. It was also a rule for Indians that they had to accord compulsory hospitality to Muslim visitors. He also instituted a few new taxes. But it seems that, on the whole, his administration was not harsher than that of Dahir for there were no popular revolts. Buddhists, Jats and people of lower classes must have welcomed this rule as the state had accorded full social equality and religious toleration to all. As a security measure he always kept the army strong and alert. He enlisted a few Indian soldiers as well but there was an overwhelming majority of the Arabs, while all the key-posts were their exclusive monopoly.

NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF ARAB CONQUEST :

This victory has its own importance in the history of India and Arabia although it did not help much in the establishment of the future Muslim Empire in India, so that Lane poole characterised it as 'an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results.' Arab tribes settled down in the town of Sindh and they established strong colonies at Mansura, Baiza, Mahfuza Multan etc. They inter-married with local people and thus produced a mixed Indo-Arab racial group. But owing to the neglect of the later Umayyads and meagre revenues of Sindh they could not make any headway against the Gurjars, Rashtrakutas or Chalukyas and remained confined to Sindh. Later on, they began to fight among themselves and there arose tribal jealousies and religious differences which put an end to their central authority and Arab rule came to be confined to towns alone. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that from that time down to the end of the mediæval period Sindh was almost always dominated by Muslims. Consequently, many Arab travellers, traders, and saints visited Sindh and other parts of India, and the travel diaries prepared by them greatly helped the Turks in their Indian conquest.

Arabs came in close contact with Indians and they learnt much from them in philosophy, science, medicine, astronomy etc. This specially happened during the reigns of the Abbasid Caliphs, Mansur (753-774) and Harun (786-809). According to Sayyad Sulaiman Nadvi, their Prime Minister, the Baramakas were Indian Buddhists who had been heads of the Buddhist monastery of Balkh but had accepted Islam. They invited many learned persons from India whose Indian names are not available. Arabs call them Bahla, Manka, Bajigar, Phalbarphal, Sindbad, Barvar, Raja, Anaku, Arikal etc. They were appointed in the translation department and they translated many Sanskrit works on Astronomy, Medicine, Chemistry, Philosophy and other cognate subjects in Arabic and enriched its literature and science during the adolescence of Islam.

With the influx of the Arabs, a new religion was introduced in India which attracted the lower castes by the simplicity of its doctrines and the ideal of a common brotherhood. Consequently, this cannot be rightly described as a triumph without results.

THE END OF ARAB RULE IN SINDH :

When the Abbasid Caliphs made Baghdad their capital, a greater attention was first paid to Sindh so that the cultural ties became closer. But during the latter half of the ninth century the Abbasid Caliphs began to grow weaker and it was not possible for them to pay proper attention to Sindh. Very soon after, the whole or Sindh except Multan and Mansura came under the possession of Hindu rulers. Later on, when Muhammad-bin-Sam established Turkish rule in India, Arab authority over Sindh finally ended.

Further Readings

1. Sayyad Sulaiman Nadwi—Arab aur Bharat ke Sambandh, pp. 1-21, 38-79, 102-152.
2. Ahsanullah—History of the Muslim World, pp. 18-110.
3. Hitti—History of the Arabs, pp. 14-29, 87-168.
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CHAPTER II

THE TURKISH CAVALCADE

ISLAM AND THE TURKS :

When the Central Asian possessions of the Umayyads reached their eastern-most limit, they came into contact with the Turks who inhabited the north-western frontier of China. Though culturally backward, they were ferocious fighters, and had an instinctive liking for warfare. After the expansion of Islam, many of them became voluntary converts to the new faith. Others were captured and sold away as slaves or entered the service of Muslim rulers even without conversion. Considering their special aptitudes, most of these people were enrolled in the army.

Turks form one of those races which have exercised a special influence on the history of Islam. But it is from the tenth century that they gained special importance. For the elucidation of the background of their rise to power, it is desirable to refer to certain incidents in the history of the Caliphate. During the rule of the Umayyads, the Caliph was the single unchallenged ruler of the entire Muslim world. Inspite of this, signs of future dissensions had started coming to the surface on account of the wide extent of the empire, lack of rapid means of communication and racial and sectarian differences. Cairo in Egypt and Cordova in Spain had begun to vie with Damascus, the seat of the Caliphate and the rulers there had assumed virtual autonomy in matters of peace and war. On the other hand, conquered races, and particularly the Persians, were becoming more and more restive and were seething with discontent and rebellion because the rights of equal brotherhood were denied to them even after

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conversion. The Shias regarded the progeny of Ali and Fatima alone as the rightful heirs to the Caliphate and were eager to employ all possible means to secure the empire for them. The descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, skilfully exploited this situation and with the cooperation of the Shias and the Persians put an end to the Umayyad dynasty and secured the Caliphate for themselves. This led to the foundation of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258).

The Abbasids transferred the seat of the Caliphate from Damasus to Baghdad. Recognizing theoretical equality of all Muslims, they destroyed the Arab monopoly of power. But they failed to maintain their authority over the whole of the empire. By 800 A. D. Northern Africa and Spain became independent. By the beginning of the tenth century, Egypt and Syria followed suit and there were signs of rebellion even in Persia. After the tenth century, the Caliphs became mere nominal sovereigns and their authority even inside the capital became dependent on the loyalty of their bodyguards. During this period, a number of independent dynasties came to be founded in the eastern empire of the Caliphate. Many of them are intimately connected with the history of India and the rise of the Turks to power. The first notable dynasty was the Samanid which ruled over Khorasan, Transoxiana and a large part of Afghanistan from 874 to 999.

SUBUKTAGIN :

One of the rulers in this dynasty was Ahmad. He purchased a Turkish slave named Alaptagin. In the reign of Abdul Malik, one of the descendants of Ahmad, Alaptagin became very powerful and was appointed governor of Balkh. Later on, this very Alaptagin founded an independent Turkish dynasty at Ghazni. His slave and son-in-law, Subuktagin, seized Ghazni in 977 and set aside the dynasty of his master. Mahmud of Ghazni, son and successor of Subuktagin, led numerous invasions into India and thus brought the Turks into direct intimate contact with this country.

CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASIONS :

The political condition of India on the eve of the Turkish invasions was not good. The land was divided into numerous small states. On the north-western frontier there were three principal kingdoms. The Brahmin dynasty of the Shahiyas ruled over a wide territory, extending from Kashmir to Multan and from Lamghan to Sarhind. The principal cities in this region were Kabul, Peshawar, Ohind and Lahore. To the south of it lay the Shia kingdom of Multan, and the principality of Mansura where an Arab dynasty held authority. To the east lay the kingdoms of Tomars at Delhi, Pratihars at Kanauj and Kashi, Chandelas at Mahoba and Kalinjar, Parmars in Malwa and Solankis in Gujerat. There were similar states in other parts of the country too. The rulers in most of these states were Rajputs or were influenced by Rajput political and military traditions. The form of government was a feudal monarchy. Almost all the rulers were fired with territorial ambitions and were constantly at war with their neighbours. Consequently, the entire state policy was subordinated to military requirements and public welfare activities were often neglected. The people were gradually becoming indifferent to political matters. The Rajputs had a monopoly of civil and military appointments and it was contrary to rules of Rajput chivalry to oppress in any way the traders, tenants or peaceful citizens. The cumulative effect of this was that the masses paid scant regard to rise and fall of ruling dynasties except that they would usually delay

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payment of taxes as long as possible so that they may not have to pay them again as a result of a change of dynasty. It was in the interest of the rulers also to promote the prosperity of farmers, traders and craftsmen.

The result was that while politically the land became weak and degenerate, there was no obstacle to the progress of art and literature or the accumulation of wealth and property. This led to the growth of numerous new cities adorned with fine temples which were not only the repositories of the artistic wealth of the land but also the hoarding places of large quantities of gold and silver and precious jewels.

In the history of religion, this period witnessed the downfall of Buddhism and the rise to eminence of Pauranik Hinduism. But the Buddhists had not completely disappeared and they were still eager to regain their lost power. The Hindus were divided into numerous sects as the devotees of Shiva, Durga, Surya, Ganesh, Kali, Vishnu etc. Mutual relations of these sects were often inspired by envy and jealousy, based on the exclusive supremacy claimed for their respective gods.

Brahmins and Kshattriyas commanded the highest respect in society while the position of the Sudras and the Chandalas had become worse than before. Among the lower castes there were many skilful artisans and craftsmen who generally lived in cities or were in close contact with urban people. They were comparatively more dissatisfied with their lot and were keen on improving their social status by strengthening their caste-guilds.

In short, India was fast becoming a fine scene of operations for a powerful military invader. Political disunity, feudal military organisation, social disharmony, and political indifference of the masses would render the task of conquest easy while the prosperity of the land would excite the greed of his followers. Turks took advantage of this golden opportunity and in course of time established an extensive empire.

EARLY RAIDS :

Ghazni lost political stability after the death of Alaptagin, and there were numerous dynastic changes. One of these weak rulers was Piritigin. He was the master of Ghazni just prior to Subuktagin. The first conflict between the Turks and the Hindus occurred during his reign (972-977). Jayapala the ruler of the Punjab became apprehensive about the security of his north-western frontier when he found the Turks constantly pressing towards the east. He wished to roll them back by a powerful offensive. Just then the opponents of Piritigin sought Jayapala's assistance against him. Jayapala sent a small army with his son. But Subuktagin, determined to foil the attempt of the Hindus to take advantage of dissensions among the Turks, rapidly organised a third party which on the one hand wanted to set aside Piritigin and on the other to check the power of the Hindu Raja. This third party defeated the army of Jayapala and in recognition of this success placed Subuktagin on the throne.

Writing about the wars between Jayapala and Subuktagin Utbi records that the latter with a view to avenge the former's invasion of Turkish territory sacked and annexed some of the frontier outposts. Jayapala retaliated by leading a counter-attack in 986. A furious battle ensued which lasted for many days and both sides suffered heavy casualties. Then there was a heavy snowfall which caused serious losses to the Hindus so that Jayapala was constrained to open negotiations for peace. The Sultan's son Mahmud opposed coming to terms before reaching a decisive stage. But when Jayapala said that it was not for fear of death that he was making that proposal and threatened to fight to the last man, if necessary, and to destroy all their property before they died so that nothing should fall into the hands of the enemy, Subuktagin agreed to negotiate and made peace on condition that Jayapala should pay an indemnity of war. Even after this, relations between the two rulers continued to be strained and there were numerous incidents on the frontier. Finally in 991, Jayapala once more invaded the kingdom of Ghazni at the head of the confederate forces of Kalinjar, Kanauj and Ajmer. But superior generalship of Subuktagin brought him victory this time also. He had divided his army into contingents of 500 each and had ordered them to attack the Hindu forces with utmost violence in successive waves and to retreat, before their force was spent, to the rear of their own army while another contingent led the attack. This tired out the Hindus who had been fighting without any respite. At the close of the day the entire Turkish army made a united charge. The Hindus wearied by ceaseless fighting could not withstand it and suffered a complete defeat. This victory enabled Subuktagin to annex all the territory upto Peshawar where he posted an army of 10,000 Turks.

During his rule of twenty years, Subuktagin not only weakened the power of Jayapala and advanced beyond the Khaibar but secured Balkh and Khorasan also by making a show of loyalty to the then Samanid ruler. He received great help also from the valour of his eldest son. When Subuktagin died his kingdom extended over practically the whole of Afghanistan, Khorasan, Balkh and the region bordering on the north-western frontier of India.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (998-1030):

After the death of his father, Mahmud occupied Ghazni and had himself crowned in 998 with great magnificence and splendour. Mahmud's mother was the daughter of a chief of Zabulistan. He was born in 971 and was appointed the governor of Ghazni at the tender age of seven. Mahmud had received good Islamic education and he acquired a fair knowledge of the Quran, the Hadis and principles of Muslim theology and jurisprudence. Even as a boy he had taken part in a number of wars in his father's lifetime and had covered himself with glory by his acts of valour and capacity for efficient leadership. Since 994, he had been the commander of the Khorasan army with headquarters at Nishapur.

In the early years of his reign, Mahmud had to face some opposition from the side of his brother Ismail. But he did not have him executed even after defeating him in battle. Instead he always treated him well in order to avoid the horrors of a civil war. In 999, he was found to be involved in a conspiracy against the Sultan. But even then the only punishment awarded was that he was removed from Ghazni and placed under the custody of the Sultan's father-in-law. This generosity on the part of the Sultan added to his prestige and popularity.

In the meantime, he defied the authority of the Samanid ruler and occupied Khorasan. The Caliph, Qadir Billah, recognized his authority over all that he held and conferred on him the titles of *Yaminuddaula* (the right hand of the empire) and *Amin-ul-millat* (protector of the Muslims). According to Utbi, no previous ruler had ever been honoured with such titles. These military and diplomatic successes of Mahmud made him all the more ambitious and he aspired to become a great Muslim sovereign.

Mahmud ruled for 32 years. By his valour, courage, tactful diplomacy and efficient leadership he defeated many rivals to his power and having subjugated the territories belonging to them or his less powerful neighbours, he established an extensive empire. Outside India, he conquered Khorasan (999), Sistan (1002), Gharshistan (1012), Khwarizm (1017) and Ghor (1011-1020). He had to wage numerous wars against conspiring neighbours and disaffected governors but was generally victorious. He did not depend on force alone for the extension of his sphere of influence. Instead he used to advantage diplomacy, timely generosity and impartial mediation as well.

MOTIVES OF MAHMUD:

Mahmud had to suffer heavy losses in men and money in course of his victories. To satisfy his needs in wealth, he decided to invade India. It is said that on securing high dignities from the Caliph in 999, he had taken a vow to lead an invasion into India every year. Some people have interpreted it as an act of bigotry. But Habib and Nazim have adduced strong evidence in refutation of this view. The main consideration of Mahmud in invading India was that the money that he needed for building up a large central Asian empire could be easily available here. Being a capable military leader, he also knew that it would be much easier to defeat his central Asian enemies by a proper use of elephants. He thus wanted to invade India also to secure a strong contingent of war-elephants. But, as far as possible, he wanted to avoid establishing his direct rule in any part of India. That is why his invasions were directed against rich cities and wealthy temples rather than against seats of government and impregnable forts. He attacked forts only when it could not be helped. He raided practically the whole of Northern India but he took no steps to found his authority in this region. The utmost that he did was to ask for an annual tribute. Although it is true that he raised the cry of *jehad* at the time of invasion and took special pride in calling himself *Butshikan* (destroyer of idols), his real object was not proselytisation. Dr. Nazim says that although some missionaries followed his invading armies and a few Hindus embraced Islam, the real object of his invasions was military glory and acquisition of wealth. He does not endorse the view of Mahmud's contemporary Alberuni or his biographer Habib that the Sultan by his fanaticism did much damage to Islam and won for it an abiding hatred in the minds of the Hindus. He condones ransacking the treasures of temples and idol-breaking as a part of contemporary warfare. But other authors condemn these acts of Mahmud and accuse him of exploiting the name of religion for securing a monetary advantage. An impartial appraisal of Mahmud's acts leaves the impression that what he did in the name of religion was unworthy. Then again, whatever might have been the personal views of Mahmud, most of his followers and mediæval muslim historians regarded his wars in India as *jehad* and lavished praise on him on that account. Later Turkish invaders followed in the foot-steps of Mahmud in respect of temple-destruction and thus confirmed the opposition of the Hindus. If the policy of the Arabs had been followed, probably the Muslim empire in India would have met with greater success and communal bitterness would not have gone to such lengths. Sayyad Sulaiman Nadvi has also expressed a similar opinion.

CAUSES OF INVASION:

It has already been remarked that the chief motive of Mahmud's invasions in India was the desire to secure its wealth. In all his central Asian wars after 1000 A. D. Mahmud made use of elephants. It may therefore be inferred that the desire to obtain war elephants for his army might also have been one of the causes of his invasions. Then considering the attitude of his contemporaries, he might

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also have thought that these wars would show his devotion to Islam and would earn for him high honour in the orthodox Muslim world. He was confident of his success because he had acquired first-hand experience of the weakness of Indian rulers in the life-time of his father himself. Many Muslim traders and travellers had visited India before his time and some of them had left behind valuable topographical information in their diaries which would facilitate his work of conquest. Peshawar which commanded entry into India was already in his possession and there was little likelihood of any strong opposition from the side of Jayapala, the master of the frontier region because he had suffered successive defeats at the hands of the Turks. Thus an invasion of India was not only militarily and financially profitable but it was also easy to secure a victory by raising the cry of *jehad* and by exploiting the military weakness and the political disunity of Indian rulers. This is the reason why Mahmud led 17 expeditions into India. His early successes easily secured for him recruits for the army and the number of his troops went on increasing year after year, as the Afghans and other greedy persons poured into its ranks. This too facilitated his task.

PRINCIPAL EXPEDITIONS :

(1) *Against the Shahiyas* (1000-1021):—Mahmud led his expeditions from Kashmir in the north to Kalinjar in the south and from Kanauj in the east to Somnath in the west. But he encountered the toughest opposition from the Shahiyas who once or twice reduced him to dangerous straits. The first opponent of Mahmud in this dyansty was Jayapala. Mahmud plundered some frontier regions of Jayapala and when the latter planned a counterattack in 1001, he tried to check his advance near Peshawar. In the battle that ensued, 12000 horse-

men of Jayapala were opposed by 15000 Turkish cavalry. There were soldiers of other categories also but their quality was poor. Mahmud followed the tactics of his father and dividing his troops into a number of regiments sent them to attack in successive waves. Jayapala put up a very stiff resistance but he was once more defeated. Jayapala and a number of his sons and grandsons were made captives and were able to purchase their freedom only by a heavy ransom. Jayapala was a brave and proud ruler. He was deeply stung by his successive defeats so that in 1002 he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Anandpala and burnt himself alive. This steeled the opposition of his descendants against the Turkish invader and they regarded it as their solemn duty to check his advance and to inflict on him maximum losses. They could never submit to Mahmud lest it should sully the name of Jayapala.

Mahmud fought two wars against Anandpala. The first occasion arose in 1006 when he refused to allow the troops of Mahmud to march against Multan through his territory. Next in 1009, he organised, according to Ferishta, a confederacy of the rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer and fought an engagement near Ohind. The day was going against Mahmud but the latter sent his personal bodyguard which constituted the pick of his army to attack the rear of the Hindu army. This shows that the Indian commander had not taken due care to protect his flanks. The result was that the Indian army got disorganised and the Turks taking advantage of this made an all-out attack which broke their ranks and routed them. Mahmud pursued them upto Nagarkot and captured an immense booty. A little later, Anandpala shifted his capital to Nandana but he did not long survive and was succeeded by Trilochanpala.

Mahmud led his forces against Trilochanpala thrice, in 1013, 1014, and 1019. The Sultan's first attempt ended in failure. Next time, Trilochanpala in alliance with the ruler of Kashmir created a dangerous situation for Mahmud but the latter's fortitude and superior generalship ultimately brought about the defeat of Trilochanpala. The Sultan occupied Nandana and appointed a Turkish governor there. Trilochanpala retired further to the east and exerting pressure on his weaker neighbours began to acquire strength again. After the cowardly flight of the ruler of Kanauj in 1018, Trilochanpala joined hands with Ganda Chandela to reconquer Indian territory occupied by Mahmud. In this war, Trilochanpala and his ally were defeated. By 1021 when Trilochanpala died practically the whole of the Shahiya kingdom passed into the hands of Mahmud. Bhima, the Fearless carried on the struggle till 1026 but with his death in that year, the Shahiya dynasty came to an end. Mahmud was unwilling to annex Indian territory. But constant opposition by the Shahiyas created such difficulties in the path of his other Indian campaigns that he was obliged to annex their territory. He could do so only after twenty years of fighting. This indicates the prowess, patience and love of independence of the Shahiyas.

(2) *Multan* (1006-1010).—Getting dissatisfied with Daud, the ruler of Multan Mahmud attacked it in 1006. There were two main reasons for this: (1) Daud being a supporter of Shiaism (2) Daud's opposition to Mahmud's troops passing through his land. Having defeated and deposed Daud, the Sultan appointed Sukhpala as the governor of Multan. He was a son of Jayapala's daughter and he had probably embraced Islam during the period of his confinement. As soon as he got an opportunity in 1007 he had himself

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purified according to Law and declared his independence. Hence in 1008, Mahmud defeated him and drove him into the Punjab. Mahmud had to attack Multan a second time to destroy the remains of Daud's power. This time, he massacred thousands of Shias and annexed Multan to his territory.

(3) *Bhatinda* (1005).—Bhatinda was one of the important forts of those days and its ruler Bajiray was very brave and courageous. Mahmud regarded an invasion of the Doab without subjugating Bhatinda as fraught with danger. Hence as a prelude to plundering raids into the Gangetic basin he attacked Bhatinda in 1005. Raja Bajiray continued a valiant fight against the Sultan for four days. On the fourth day, victory seemed first to incline towards Bajiray. But when Mahmud appealed to the religious zeal of his followers and with irrepressible courage started a violent offensive, the tide began to turn and he was finally victorious. Having provided for adequate defence of the fort, Bajiray retired into the jungle to carry on guerilla warfare. But Mahmud foiled his plans by dividing his troops into two groups, one laying a close siege to Bhatinda and the other engaging in finding out the whereabouts of Bajiray. Brought to bay, Bajiray committed suicide. Bhatinda fell soon after. Mahmud in his rage ordered a general massacre of the people and relented only when they agreed to embrace Islam. To instruct the new converts into the principles of the faith, he left behind a few Mullahs and for the facility of their worship constructed mosques at suitable centres. From the plunder of the royal treasury and the local temples, the Sultan secured a huge booty. He was also able to capture a contingent of war-elephants.

(4) *Narayanpur* (1009).—Another important invasion of Mahmud was directed against the Raja of Narayanpur, situated in the modern Alwar state. This occurred in 1009. This also was probably intended to clear the ground for the invasion of

the Doab. Defeated by Mahmud, the Raja accepted his suzerainty and this friendly relationship exercised a tremendous influence on the trade between India and Khorasan.

(5) *Thaneshwar* (1014).—There was a widely renowned temple at Thaneshwar, dedicated to Chakraswamy. With a view to desecrate it, Mahmud came to the Punjab in 1014. From the eastern bank of the Sutlej, Raja Rama stoutly resisted the advance of Mahmud and although he suffered a defeat at the end, the casualties suffered by Mahmud were much greater than those of the Hindu Raja. When Mahmud reached Thaneshwar, the local chief fled for safety and Mahmud freely plundered the city and desecrated and destroyed its temples. A rich booty was captured during this campaign also.

(6) *Kanauj and Mathura* (1018-1019).—The road to the Doab now lay open. He decided to invade it in 1018. He had to encounter considerable opposition whenever he came via the Punjab or Multan. This time he was anxious to avoid it. Hence he took a more northerly route and crossing the Jumna in the hilly regions descended on Mathura via Baran, Mahaban and other forts lying on the way. The towns and forts on the way were all sacked and plundered. He was charmed by the exquisite art of the temples at Mathura and he had a number of Indian craftsmen captured whom he carried to Ghazni to adorn it with similar masterpieces. But it was blasphemous to confess that there was anything good about a temple. Hence he remarked that the temples must be the handiwork of Satan because no man could build their like. On this ground he first rifled their treasures and then set fire to them so that they became a mere heap of ruins.

He next marched upon Kanauj whose ruler Rajyapala Pratihar was so cowardly and weak that he ran away without fighting. He was looked upon as the lord paramount of northern India but he was incapable of exhibiting even that sense of honour which his so-called subordinates had been able to do. Mahmud plundered the city to his heart's content and finally returned to Ghazni in 1019, plundering and destroying as he went. During this campaign, the booty captured in gold and jewellery was enormous and Mahmud was also able to carry with him the choicest war-elephants.

(7) *Kalinjar* (1019-1023).—On Mahmud's return, the neighbouring princes of Rajyapala formed a confederacy under the leadership of Ganda Chandela and with a view to penalise him for bringing discredit to the name of the Rajputs, they attacked him and he died in course of this campaign. When Mahmud heard of this, he marched at the head of an army against Kalinjar, the capital of Ganda. The Chandela prince and his allies assembled such a huge force that Mahmud was terror-stricken at the very sight of it. In great awe and fear he prayed to God for victory. His prayer was perhaps answered for Ganda fled the camp during the night without any ostensible reason. It may be surmised that he probably lost faith in the sincerity and honesty of his allies which was nothing very unnatural in those days of mutual distrust and jealousy. Mahmud first offered thanks to the Almighty for this act of Grace and then fell to plundering the camp of the Rajput army and having collected a rich booty retired to Ghazni.

On Mahmud's return, Ganda once more became the ruler of his kingdom. With a view to overpower him completely, Mahmud returned to India once again in 1022 and dashed on to Kalinjar, capturing Gwalior on the way. Ganda lost nerve and conciliated the invader by offering him 300 elephants and other presents. This saved his kingdom from an indiscriminate plunder and Mahmud went back to Ghazni.

(8) *Somanath* (1025-1026).—The most famous invasion of Mahmud took place in 1025-1026 when he marched against the temple of Somanath. This celebrated Shaiva temple was situated on the sea coast in Prabhas region in Gujerat. It was famed throughout India. The treasure accumulated in it was also proportionate to its wide popularity. With a view to destroy this temple, Mahmud left his capital in 1025. He went to Gujerat via Multan and the desert of Sindh-Rajputana. Riding roughshod over local resistance here and there, he dashed on to Somanathgarh. After a siege lasting for many days Mahmud secured an entry into the fort and started by putting 50,000 Brahmins and other Hindus to the sword. The idol was broken, the temple desecrated and burnt.

There were three principal reasons which accounted for the success of Mahmud (i) The disputes about succession to the office of the *mahanta* (chief priest) of the temple secured for him the services of fifth-columnists. (ii) Many Hindu Rajas laboured under the delusion that Mahmud would never be able to reach the temple or even if he did so he could never capture it. Hence they did nothing to save the temple. (iii) Besides, Mahmud had led his forces with great ability and circumspection.

But when he was returning home laden with spoils, Raja Bhoj of Dhar formed a plan to intercept him on the way and punish him for his crimes. When Mahmud was informed of this he changed the route and wading through the shallows of the Rann of Cutch reached the other side while Bhoj kept waiting for him elsewhere. Mahmud suffered great hardships during the return journey. The Jats despoiled him of much of his booty, casualties in men, horses and camels were enormous and the Sultan himself got terribly tired out. But when on reaching Ghazni, he sent despatches of his victory to other Muslim lands, he received high encomiums of praise.

(9) *Against the Jats* (1027).—Mahmud's last invasion was directed against the Jats. He wanted to punish them for the wrongs done during the last campaign. He entered their villages in 1027, set fire to them and killed all males while women and children were enslaved.

A RESUME OF THE INVASIONS:

In course of 27 years, Mahmud led 17 invasions into India. Thus he was unable to honour his word of annual invasions literally because the wars in Central Asia sometimes kept him preoccupied there. Each of his invasions meant an accession of wealth but his gains in gold and jewels after the defeat of Jayapala or from the sack of Nagarkot, Mathura, Kanauj and Somanath were far greater than what he secured elsewhere. On a few occasions, Mahmud's victory had been in grave doubt e.g. in 1005 against Bajiray of Bhatinda, in 1008-1009 against Anandpala and in 1019 against Ganda Chandela while in 1026 he dared not face the forces of Bhoj at all. Yet this is a fact that he was able to get over every difficult situation by his courage, self-confidence and superior generalship so that victory always leaned on his side. Among the Indian princes the conduct of Jayapala, Anandpala, Bhimpala, Bajiray and Bhoj was most commendable. On the other hand there were also cowardly rulers like Rajyapala of Kanauj and Bhim of Gujerat who could not muster courage even to stand against Mahmud and sought shelter in flight. Some rulers first put up a resistance but when they were convinced of superior strength of the Sultan they tamely submitted to him and even offered to pay an annual tribute. The Raja of Narayanpur falls into this category. Ganda first opposed the Sultan and then composed a flattering poem to humour Mahmud who felt so pleased with it that he did not annoy him any more. Taking all things into consideration, it has to be admitted that despite political disunity of the land, Mahmud had to encounter a stiff resistance and his success in India was not due to lack of courage among Indian soldiers. Personal qualities of Mahmud entitle him to an honourable place among great conquerors and generals. His courage, valour, fearlessness, self-confidence, the capacity to judge men accurately, adjusting his tactics and strategy to the position of the enemy and the gift of enjoying complete confidence of his followers are qualities which facilitated his success in war. Combining religious zeal with economic gain he had fired his soldiers with such enthusiasm that they were prepared to do anything at his bidding. When occasion demanded, the Sultan tried to revive the spirits of his soldiers by his personal acts of fearless valour. But normally he led rather than fought and he confined his activities essentially to directing his troops and exploiting the weaknesses of the enemy as soon as they were detected. He always kept a reserve for a final decisive assault and this more than once enabled him to convert a defeat into a victory. The tactics employed against Anandapala in 1009 remind one of the Mughal *tulughma*. His archers were more efficient than their Indian counterparts and his army often possessed arms unknown to the Indians while the latter had no such advantage. The cavalry of Mahmud possessed greater strength and stamina and his spies were highly efficient. That is why no Rajput chief could ever entrap him. He had no difficulty about enlistment either because a conviction had gained ground that the Sultan would always be victorious and that in the event of victory they must secure a share in the rich spoils that would inevitably fall into their hands. Therein lies the secret of his success.

EFFECTS:

Mahmud had no desire to found a Turkish dominion in India. He coveted only the wealth accumulated in Indian cities and the reputation of being an idol-breaker. The latter did not always bring him renown. Many contemporary and later Muslims have condemned it severely. But wealth he got in plenty. He used it for the maintenance of a large army and employed it for the protection and extension of his central Asian possessions. In the absence of this wealth, it would have been impossible for Mahmud to wage continuous warfare. Mahmud made use of his newly acquired wealth also for promotion of art and learning. His court was adorned by many men of letters while a number of magnificent buildings reared their heads in the city of Ghazni. Besides, he left a large fortune also for his successors. He secured from India fine war-elephants and skilled drivers which he used to great advantage in his central Asian wars. He carried from India also reputed craftsmen who by their artistic creations won for Mahmud high reputation in the contemporary Muslim world and placed central Asia under a debt of gratitude to Indian art traditions.

Mahmud permanently occupied Multan and the Punjab which not only furnished a rich annual tribute but also provided an asylum to his successors in the hour of distress. Thus Mahmud and his successors were benefited by these campaigns in numerous ways.

Indians on the other hand suffered heavily. The frontier province of the Punjab passed into the hands of the Turks and thus practically the whole of the Indus basin was lost to the foreigner which facilitated the work of future conquerors. Many

Muslim preachers, merchants, travellers and students infiltrated into India and some of them settled down in different parts of the land. Taking advantage of the spirit of toleration of the Hindus some Muslim saints were able to secure some converts by exhibition of miracles. At the time of the invasions by Muhammad of Ghor these Muslim saints and settlements proved of immense value to the invader. Mahmud's invasions destroyed some Hindu dynasties while others were so badly shaken that they could not long survive the shock. This meant considerable change in the frontiers and resources of the new state-system in India. But the success of the Turks had no effect on the political disunity or the system of government of Indian princes. The military and administrative weaknesses remarked in the time of Mahmud continued to exist even at the time of Muhammad of Ghor's invasions. Some Indian rulers recruited Turks and Afghans in their army but they made no attempt to understand the causes of the success of the Turks. Nor did they make any plans for successfully resisting their advance in future.

India lost heavily in wealth but its losses in the field of art were hardly less. Many of her excellent artisans and craftsmen were captured and enslaved and were carried away for good while most of the fine temples lying on the route of Mahmud's invasions were systematically destroyed so that some of the finest specimens of Indian art were irreparably lost. Hindus were overawed by the Turks and although the successors of Mahmud were weak and incompetent, there was no attempt on the part of the Rajputs to drive them out of India. This age had lost the capacity to produce a Chanakya or a Chandragupta Maurya. Consequently, the Punjab remained permanently into the hands of the Muslims and served as the stepping stone in the foundation of a Turkish dominion in India.

The achievements of Mahmud benefited Turks, Afghans and other Muslims in a variety of ways. But the gain to Islam is not so undisputed. If the extension of territory of a Muslim ruler alone be enough to promote the interests of Islam, Mahmud rendered a positive service to his faith. If forcible conversion and wanton destruction of places of worship were a matter of pride for Islam, Mahmud certainly contributed to it. But if the cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion brought discredit to it then as Habib has remarked he did great disservice to Islam and compromised its dignity. Exhibition of religious frenzy was so convenient and economically profitable for a powerful invader that later Muslim conquerors also emulated the example of Mahmud which confirmed the Hindu sentiment of hatred and contempt of Islam. The efforts of liberal rulers like Akbar and Zainulabidin failed to soften this anti-Islamic bias. Thus the gulf of communal bitterness that divided the Hindus and Muslims was largely the gift of Mahmud of Ghazni. In that sense he caused irreparable damage to India as well.

Further Readings

1. Nazim—Sultan Mahmud.
2. Habib—Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Second Edn.
3. Elliot and Dowson—History of India, Vol. II, pp. 1-52 and 401-484.
4. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Chap. II.
5. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad—Early Turish Empire of Delhi, pp. 1-53.

CHAPTER III

FOUNDATION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

RISE OF THE HOUSE OF GHOR:

Mahmud's empire rested mainly on the military power of the sovereign. The various races inhabiting its different parts had neither lost their individual entity nor had they been fully reconciled to the rule of the Ghaznavids. In fact, they had acknowledged the latter's supremacy only because of their own military weakness at the time. All these peoples—Seljuk Turks, Ghuzz Turkomans, the Suris of Ghor, Afghan tribes etc., aspired to found independent empires under their own leaders as soon as opportunity should offer itself. Thus the disintegration of Mahmud's empire was an inevitable historical necessity. If the successors of Mahmud had been as great military captains as he himself, even then it would have been no easy task to maintain the integrity of the empire. But they were gifted neither with military prowess nor did they possess internal unity and cohesion. A civil war followed the death of every Sultan and this provided an opportunity to subordinate chiefs and semi-independent races to strike for their independence. The empire of Mahmud therefore began to break up just ten years after his death. The Seljuks were the first to take advantage of this. They seized Khorasan and soon built up an extensive empire. After a few years, Ghorian and Khwarizmian empires began to grow up and the power of the Seljuks came to an end. Whenever the successors of Mahmud failed to withstand the onslaughts of their Central Asian enemies, they fled to the Punjab and returned to Ghazni at an opportune moment. But after about 125 years after the death of Mahmud they had managed to lose everything except the Punjab so that they settled down here permanently, making Lahore their capital.

Ghor was a petty hill-state which had been subordinate to Mahmud. Gradually the power of its chiefs increased. As their names end in Suri, they have been mistaken for Afghans. But they were perhaps Parsis rather than Afghans though it was natural to mistake them for Afghans because they ruled over them. The most powerful family in Ghor was the house of *Shansbanis*. Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam was born just in this family. The first notable person in the family was Saifuddin who occupied Ghazni for a short while. After his defeat and death, his brother Alauddin Hasan captured Ghazni and having throughly sacked it, set fire to it which continued to rage for seven days. He retired only after making sure that Ghazni was a city in ruins. He destroyed practically all the beautiful monuments erected by Mahmud and his successors. Thus he gave a serious blow to the prosperity and prestige of Ghazni. About twenty years after the first occupation of Ghazni by Saifuddin, his nephew Ghiyasuddin Muhammad brought it under his permanent control in 1173 and appointed his younger brother Shihabuddin to rule over it. For practically thirty years after this, the Ghorians predominated in Afghanistan. It was during this period that Shihabuddin who later on came to be known as Muizuddin established an empire in India which acquired strength and stability under his Turkish slaves.

AIMS OF SHIHABUDDIN :

Shihabuddin was very anxious to add to the glory of his family. He enjoyed the love and confidence of his elder brother Ghiyasuddin. Shihabuddin too had great respect, devotion and regard for his brother and he neither opposed nor neglected the latter's interests. During the reign of Ghiyasuddin, the worst enemy of his house was the ruler of Khwarizm. Shihabuddin also knew that the Ghaznavid Sultans of Lahore would try to reconquer Ghazni by taking advantage of the difficulties of Ghorians. Similarly from the Ismailia Shias of Multan also only opposition could be expected. Thus for the security of the Ghorian empire, annexation of Multan and the Punjab was not only desirable but an unavoidable necessity. This was the first major consideration in Shihabuddin's invasion of India. Secondly, he wanted to establish Muslim rule in India. He knew that the efforts which the Arabs and the Turks had made till then were inadequate for the foundation of a Muslim empire in India. He was eager to supply this want and to bring India under permanent Muslim authority. Thus he wanted to immortalise himself in history. He was also aware that he would be able to exploit religious zeal of the Muslims in securing a victory over India. This would also win for him religious merit in the eyes of many a Muslim. Then the wealth and military resources of India could be employed to obtain a victory over the enemies of his house. It was with these objects in view that Shihabuddin prepared a systematic lan for the conquest of India.

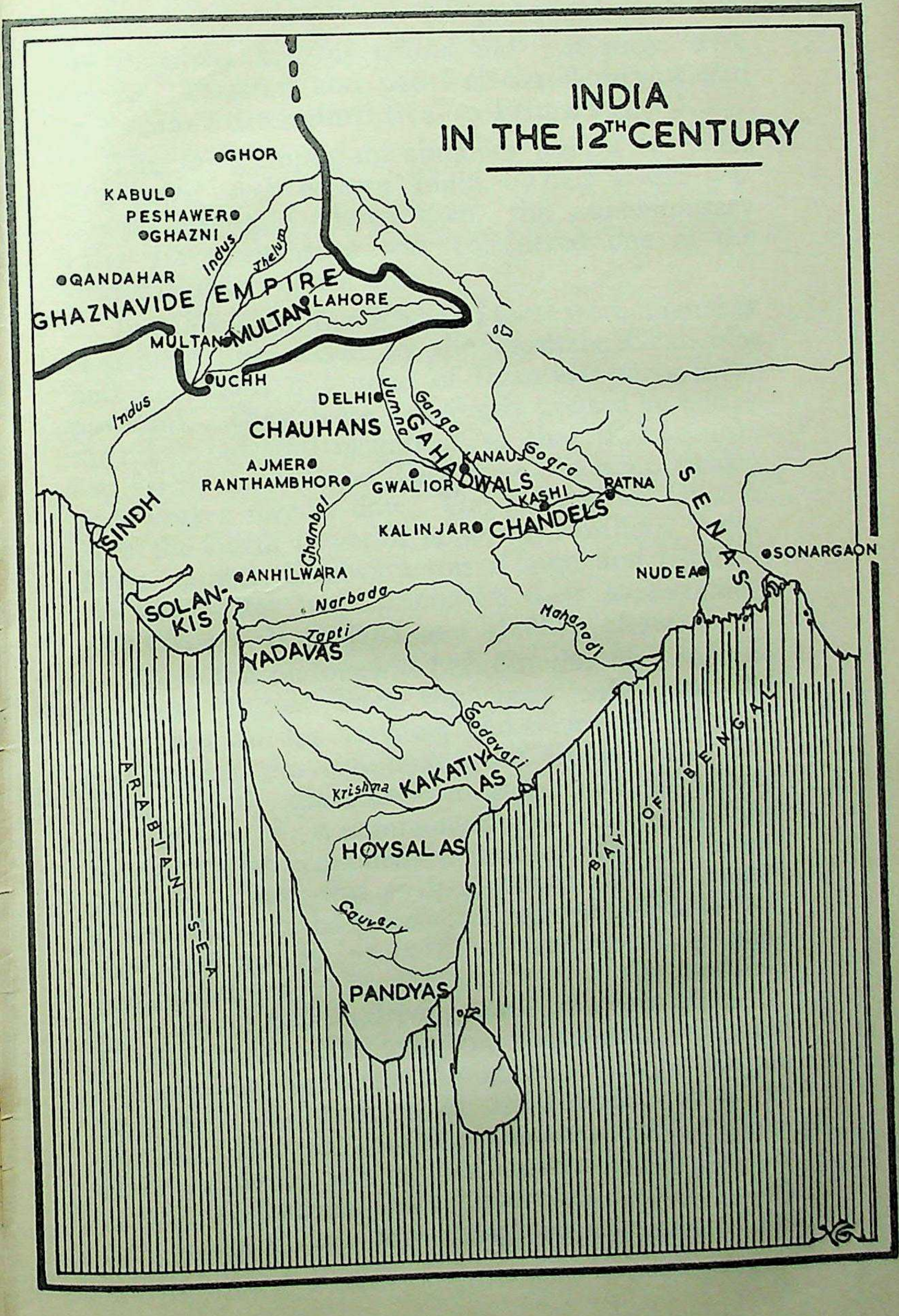
CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF HIS INVASIONS:

The first invasion of Shihabuddin took place in 1175 and he continued to wage war in India till 1205 either for the extension of his territory or for the consolidation of conquests already made. For a proper estimate of his achievement, it is necessary to review in brief the position of contemporary India. The paramountcy of Gurjar Pratihars was now over and there was no real or nominal sovereign of the whole or northern India. The Indus

Valley constitutes the gateway of India. There were two Muslim principalities ruling over it. Towards the North lay the Ghaznavid kingdom of the Punjab with headquarters at Lahore while the southern portion was dominated by the Ismailian Shias of Multan. The conquest of these regions by a Muslim ruler was not likely to offer any serious difficulties because not only their resources were poor and limited but they also lacked the backing of the masses. They would normally be indifferent to the fate of their rulers because success of the invader would mean only the substitution of one Muslim ruler by another which was not likely to affect their position substantially. To the east and south of these border states there were numerous Rajput principalities both big and small. Four out of these were more powerful than others.

One of them was the kingdom of the Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer. The contemporary ruler, Prithwiraja or Rai Pithaura was a brave and warlike prince who had won great renown by his successful wars against his neighbours. He was the closest neighbour of the Ghaznavids of the Punjab and he had to devise especial measures for counteracting their hostile moves. Hansi, Pakpattan and Bhatinda were the principal frontier outposts of this kingdom and their commanders were specially charged with the duty of neutralising the raids of the Turks. Prithwiraja had considerably weakened the Chandelas and according to the Lalitpur inscription dated 1181 he had occupied Mahoba. The account of Prithwiraja's victories as recorded in *Prithwiraja Raso* is not wholly reliable but it does leave the impression that Prithwiraja had made his mark as a highly courageous and valiant commander.

To the east of the kingdom of the Chauhans lay the kingdom of Rathor Gahadwals with Kanauj as its capital. The contemporary ruler Jayachandra tried to regain for himself the glory of the days of


INDIA
IN THE 12TH CENTURY
GHOR
KABUL
PESHAWER
GHAZNI
QANDAHAR
GHAZNAVIDE EMPIRE
Indus
Jhelum
LAHORE
MULTAN
MULTAN
UCHH
Indus
DELHI
Jumna
Ganga
CHAUHANS
GAHADWALS
KANAUJ
Sogra
AJMER
RANTHAMBHOR
GWALIOR
KASHI
PATNA
SENAS
SINDH
Chambal
KALINJAR
CHANDELS
SONARGAON
NUDEA
ANHILWARA
SOLANKIS
Narbada
Mahanadi
Tapti
YADAVAS
Godavari
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
Krishna
KAKATIYAS
HOYSALAS
Cauvery
PANDYAS

the Pratihars but his efforts did not meet with success. Personal and political considerations had made him a determined rival to Prithwiraja.

The third important kingdom was of the Senas who ruled over eastern India. Their power was rapidly declining. Even then, the contemporary ruler Lakshamansena was considered one of the principal rulers of the time.

In Malwa and Bundelkhand there were a number of principalities ruled by the Parmars, Chandelas and Chauhans but none of them was particularly powerful. They were constantly pressed by one or the other powerful neighbour so that their security was highly precarious. They were becoming weaker and weaker day by day. The Solankis of Gujerat were the fourth powerful house of Northern India. Their capital Anhilwara was a large and populous city and they had established their paramountcy over Western Rajputana and Madhya Bharat.

There was no love lost between the Big Four of Northern India. Each was busy only with the expansion of his territory and sphere of influence and despite the continuance of Turkish raids they never had the good sense to sink their differences in the face of a common danger. Their internal administration remained as before. Mutual dissension and enmity was so deep-rooted and the vanity of the Rajputs had assumed such proportions that they were utterly incapable of making any permanent arrangement for the security of the frontiers by joining hands in driving the Turks out of India. If after Mahmud's invasions, Turks had remained confined merely to the Punjab and Sindh, Rajput neglect of the defence of the frontiers could be excused. But the position was that the Turks had been constantly raiding Indian territory to the east of their possessions. True, the raids were generally not successful but any farsighted ruler could have foreseen that although the rulers of the decadent Ghaznavid kingdom could make no headway yet there might be grave danger to the security of his realm the moment some capable military commander became the master of the Punjab. If such wisdom had dawned upon the Rajputs they would have either established diplomatic relations with the Turks or sent their spies into their territory to keep themselves posted upto date about their internal condition. The Rajputs did nothing of the sort. Whenever they were able to beat back a Turkish invader, they thought that the maximum that they could do was to have a laudatory account of their victory over the Turk inscribed. Neglect of proper organisation of the foreign department proved the most fatal among the administrative faults of the Rajputs.

TURKISH RAIDERS OF THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES:

Baihaqi says that Ahmad Niyaltagin had dashed on to Banaras and had captured a rich booty. Masud attacked and captured Hansi. Ibrahim is also reported to have invaded Hindu territory. All these incidents belong to the 11th century. An inscription of Govindchandra Gahadwala suggests that the Rajputs realized a tax called the 'Turushkadanda'. Prof. Habibullah is of opinion that the revenue from this tax was utilized either to bribe the Turks out of Indian territory or to pay for additional expense in fighting them. Dr. Qureshi on the other hand suggests that it might as well be a tax on Turks resident in a Rajput state. If the last view be correct, it would mean that the number of Turkish settlers in Rajput states was sufficiently large so that a tax on them could be expected to yield a substantial amount. The Turkish settlers should either have remained behind after a raiding party had retired or they should have come by peaceful means. In either case it proves gradual infiltration of Indian territory by Turkish immigrants.

In the 12th century, the raids became much more frequent and numerous. Madanpala claims in a grant in 1109 that his father Govindchandra by his matchless tactics had obliged the Hammir (i.e. Amir) to give up hostility. The queen of Govindchandra claims in an inscription that Lord Shiva had specially appointed her husband to protect Varanasi against the Turks. The Turkish invader alluded to here was probably Haji Tughatigin who was the governor of the Punjab in the reign of Masud III. Vijayachandra claims that he had washed away the miseries of the world by the stream caused by the tears of the wives of the Hammir. He describes the Hammir as the abode of wanton destruction on earth. In Sanskrit works of a later date it is claimed for Jayachandra that he had inflicted a defeat on the ruler of Ghor. Durlabha II, the Chauhan ruler of Sambhar lost his life in fighting against the Turks. Pt. Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha says that Ajayadeva had repeatedly beaten back unauthorised Muslim infiltrators. In the reign of Arnoraja, the Turks sacked Pushkar and pressed on to Anasagar. In the pillar inscription of Vigraharaja IV dated 1163 destruction of the *Mlechchhas* and restoration of Aryan authority is claimed. He has charged his successors to wage a ceaseless war against them. Prithwiraja I while speaking of strengthening the defences of Hansi remarks that the Hammir had become a cause of anxiety for the whole world so that it was necessary to strengthen the fort for arresting his progress. In the same way, the Chauhans had to fortify Pak Pattan and Bhatinda also to roll back the rising tide of the Turks. It is thus clear that the Shansbani conqueror Shihabuddin did not break virgin soil in attempting the conquest of the Gangetic basin. He only carried to a finish what had been initiated more than hundred years before.

SHIHABUDDIN'S PLAN OF CONQUEST:

What Shihabuddin did to bring India within the fold of his empire followed a well-thought out scheme. He had learnt from the account of Muslim travellers in India that the easiest route to enter that land was the Multan-Uchh road. He had also noted that the principal roads either followed along the course of rivers or connected one important river basin with another. There would therefore be no difficulty in securing supplies if one went along these roads because most of the larger cities lay on them. He therefore decided to begin with the invasion of Multan. Having occupied it, he intended fanning out north and south to establish his authority in the Punjab and Sindh by supplanting the Shias and the Ghaznavids. After consolidating his power in the Indus basin, he could move against Gujerat or the Gangetic basin according to convenience. *Modus operandi* of Shihabuddin is a clear index of his firm determination to establish Muslim dominion in India.

MULTAN AND UCHH (1175-1176):

Shihabuddin first tried his hand against the Shias of Multan. It was a desirable move from more points that one. The shortest route from Ghazni to India passed via Multan. Hence the conquest of Multan was an utter necessity for an aspirant for Indian conquest. Secondly, it occupied a strategic position from where conquest of Sindh in the south or of the Punjab in the north could be easily attempted. The army of Shihabuddin could use Multan as a halting place for rest and collection of supplies. This done, it could confidently go ahead. Thirdly, it was the weakest spot on the north-western frontier. Its conquest was therefore expected to be easy. This would raise the morale of the troops, so that task of further conquest would become easy. The rulers there were Shias. Hence religious zeal could also be usefully worked up against them. With these objects in view, he marched against Multan in 1175 and captured it. In 1176, he moved against Uchh which also passed into his hands. Failing in his attempt on Lahore, he reduced to submission the whole of southern Sindh including Debal in 1182.

GUJERAT (1178):

It took Shihabuddin two years to reorganise the administration of Multan and Uchh and to build up resources for the next forward move. He fixed upon Gujerat as his next objective. The intervening desert of Rajputana did not damp his enthusiasm because a conquest of Gujerat was likely to prove very beneficial. In the first place, as it was the paramount power in Gujerat and Western Rajputana its conquest would help in the assertion of Turkish authority throughout that region. With that as the base he could first reduce eastern Rajputana to submission and then invade the Doab. In the second place, Shihabuddin would also secure the wealth which the rulers of Gujerat and its merchants had amassed by foreign trade and revenue from land. Thirdly, it would have opened additional routes for an invasion of the Punjab which might facilitate the defeat of the Ghaznavid ruler, Khusrau Malik. This would also save him the labour involved in reducing the Chauhan outposts on the north-western frontier as a necessary prelude to entry into the Doab. Instead, he could attack the Chauhans at a point where their defensive mechanism was comparatively weak. But the military strength of the Solankis upset all his plans. He suffered a complete rout and in an attempt to beat a hasty retreat he suffered great hardships on the way and a large number of soldiers died of undue physical strain. When he reached Ghazni only a remnant of his army was found to have survived the huge toll that Rajput arms and privations of the journey had taken.

Conquest of the Punjab (1179-1186):

Shihabuddin now realized the need to change his tactics. He could very well see that the only way to reach the Gangetic basin was to occupy the Punjab and to face the Chauhans. Hence in 1179 he attacked Peshawar. The power of Khusrau Malik was in such a tottering state that he found no difficulty in capturing it. In 1181, he attacked Lahore and although he failed to depose Khusrau Malik, he was in a sufficiently strong position to force the latter to send his four year son as a hostage and to accept the terms offered to him. In 1182, he secured considerable wealth from southern Sindh and utilized it to raise an army for another attack on Lahore in 1184 which however proved unsuccessful. He was able to occupy Sialkot where he built a strong fort. He also tried to exploit the differences between Khusrau Malik and the ruler of Kashmir. He promised to help the Raja of Kashmir against the Khokhars and in return secured his alliance against Khusrau Malik. After making adequate military and diplomatic preparations, he invaded the Punjab once again in 1186 and laid siege to Lahore. Khusrau Malik was captured and sent away as a prisoner to Ghor while the rest of his kingdom was occupied by Shihabuddin.

War against Prithwiraja (1189-1192):

Now Shihabuddin started preparations for a war against the Chauhans. With Lahore as the base, he first thoroughly consolidated his position in the Punjab. Then after about three years of preparation, he sent his army against Bhatinda in 1189. The siege began in 1190-1191. Prithwiraja's control seems to have been lax because the fort was

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surrendered before reinforcements could reach it. Leaving Ziauddin Tulak in charge of the fort at the head of 12000 troops, he retired to Ghazni. He had intended to march against Delhi next year at the head of a larger army. But before he had left Indian territory he learnt that Prithwiraja had arrived at the head of a large army for the reconquest of Bhatinda. Shihabuddin retraced his steps and the two forces came face to face in the plain near Tarain. According to Habibullah, this should be between Bhatinda and Sirsa and not near Thaneshwar or Karnal. He has endorsed the view of Cunningham accepting Torvan village lying between Sirsa and Bhatinda as the modern name of ancient Tarain. In this battle, both the flanks of Shihabuddin's army were routed and they fled away in confusion. When Shihabuddin led a counter-offensive at the head of the centre, he was severely wounded by Govindray who hurled a spear at him. A Khilji soldier somehow saved his life but his rout was complete. He had not experienced such humilitation even when defeated by the Solankis of Gujerat. The Rajputs pursued him for forty miles and then turned back to lay siege to Bhatinda which surrendered after a heroic resistance lasting for thirteen months.

When Shihabuddin reached Ghazni, he gave vent to his wrath against his generals. According to Ferishta, the Sultan ascribed his defeat to the neglect of Afghan, Khilji and Khorasani captains and generals. He severely castigated them and threw them into prison after publicly humiliating them. He spent one whole year planning and deliberating how best he should remove the stigma of defeat and rehabilitate his prestige. In 1192 he left Ghazni once more with a huge army consisting of 1,20,000 cavalry. Before he started, some courtiers intervened on behalf of the disgraced generals and pleaded for giving them another chance in life, Shihabuddin acceded to their request firstly to curry favour with his followers and secondly to make a gesture to those in disgrace, fully convinced that this time they would prefer death to dishonour and would exert themselves to their utmost.

On reaching Lahore, he held a review of his troops and in order to gain time for fullest possible preparations he sent his envoy to Prithwiraja. When Qiwam-ul-mulk delivered to the latter a message asking for his submission, he was beside himself with rage. He sent back the proud answer that Rajput sense of chivalry forbade them to attack a fleeing army. The Sultan would therefore be well advised to return home if he wanted to save the lives of his soldiers. In the meantime, Shihabuddin had pressed forward to Tarain and fixed his camp there. In order to acquaint himself with the weaknesses of Prithwiraja, he had recourse to another diplomatic move. He wrote to Prithwiraja that as the agent of his brother he could neither make war nor retreat without his approval. He could ask for his instructions if Prithwiraja were willing to abstain from fighting for the present. Prithwiraja interpreted it as a proof of his weakness and an excuse for beating a retreat. He therefore thought that there was no further cause for anxiety. If this correspondence had really passed between the two parties, Prithwiraja was guilty of a grievous error. Having got an indication of the enemy's weakness he should have immediately fallen upon him. But it is said he kept idly waiting. Shihabuddin utilized the interval for collecting all relevant information and fixing his strategy of war. This done, he sent word that his master had ordered war and simultaneously with this he led his forces to battle. Shihabuddin ordered four divisions of 10,000 each to attack the right, left, centre and if possible the rear of the enemy with maximum violence. But his archers were warned to avoid coming too close to the enemy lest the elephants should be used to trample them down and break their ranks. If the enemy pressure was strong, they had instructions to retreat in such studied disorder that the enemy might be deceived to regard it as a sign of Turkish defeat. A fierce battle continued to rage the whole day. Now Shihabuddin led a reserve of 12000 finest cavalry in an all-out offensive. The Rajputs had kept no reserves which might assist their soldiers who were weary after a whole day's ceaseless fighting. The Rajputs failed to meet this charge, their ranks began to break and soon a rout began. Prithwiraja was exhorted by his nobles to make for the capital and organise a fresh army. As he was speeding away on horseback, he was noticed by the Rajput soldiery who lost all faith in their success. The Turks made a huge slaughter and a group of their horsemen gave a hot chase to Prithwiraja, overcame him near Sirsuti or Sirsa and he was killed either immediately or a little later.

IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTLE OF TARAIN:

Success in this battle ensured realization of Shihabuddin's ambition to found an empire in India. Break-up of the power of the Chauhans facilitated extension of Shihabuddin's authority over the Doab and eastern Rajputana. Hansi, Kuhram and Sirsuti passed under his control and an army was posted at Indraprastha near Delhi under Qutbuddin Aibak charged with the duty o forcing the Hindu Rajas of Delhi and Ajmer to accept the terms of vassalage to the Sultan. Shihabuddin did not consider it prudent to annex Delhi, Ajmer and the rest of the Chauhan possessions in one instalment. His policy was to swallow as much as it was possible to digest rather than to gulp down in a hurry and then disgorge at leisure. That is why he accepted a Tomara prince as the vassal at Delhi while at Ajmer he appointed Govindraja, the son of Prithwiraja in a similar capacity on condition of payment of annual tribute and recognition of the Sultan's authority over forts and districts annexed by him. He tried to disrupt the unity of the Rajputs by the appointment of these two vassals instead of one. At the same time, he lightened his own burden by leaving the responsibility of government to them. After he had thoroughly subjugated the fresh conquests, it would be easy for him to go ahead. Thus recognition of the subordinate rights of these rulers was also a clever diplomatic move on the part of the Sultan. Having made all these arrangements, Shihabuddin returned to Ghazni leaving Qutbuddin Aibak behind to look after the security of his Indian possessions.

FROM TARAIN TO CHANDWAR (1192-1194) :

Next important battle after Tarain took place at Chandwar in 1194. But in the intervening period a number of incidents took place which extended the sphere of influence of the Turkish empire in India farther and farther. Neither the Chauhans nor the Tomars were really willing to submit to him. Hence Delhi and Ajmer soon became centres of conspiracy. A Chauhan army laid siege to Hansi but Aibak defeated the attempt and the leader of the Indian army was killed in course of fighting. Prithwiraja's brother Hariraja drove his nephew Govindraja out of Ajmer and laid siege to Ranthambhor. But when Qutbuddin Aibak appeared on the scene, he was obliged to return from both the places. The Tomar chief of Delhi was also contemplating rebellion but when Aibak laid siege to Delhi he was forced to surrender the fort. He was however permitted to go out in safety along with his followers. When Hariraja had captured Ajmer, the Tomar chief had also raised the banner of revolt but he was defeated. As a result of these wars, Delhi passed into the hands of the Turks, their control over Ajmer became more comprehensive and power of the Chauhan and Tomar rebels was reduced. In this very period. Aibak initiated a struggle against the Gahadwals. Crossing the Jumna, he occupied Baran and Mirath which were held by Gahadwala chiefs. Chandrasen who held Baran put up a very stiff resistance and Aibak had to march against him again in 1194 after his return from Ghazni. This time he occupied Koil (modern Aligarh) as well. Thus by 1193-1194 Turkish pressure on the territory of the Gahadwals had already begun and Raja Jayachandra of Kanauj must have realized that he could expect an early invasion.

DEFEAT OF THE GAHADWALS (1194):

Shihabuddin had already made up his mind about the conquest of Doab but he was waiting for a suitable opportunity. Probably it was under his instructions that Aibak had started raiding its northern districts. In 1193 Aibak had been summoned to Ghazni from where he returned after 6 months. Probably, details of the campaign against Jayachandra were thrashed out just then. Aibak had marched upon Koil immediately after his arrival and he was still in the Doab when he was informed of his master's arrival in India. He led the Delhi army to form a junction with him and the Sultan proceeded towards Varanasi at the head of 50,000 soldiers. The two armies came face to face near Chandwar and in the battle that ensued the day was going in favour of Jayachandra when he was hit by an arrow in the eye and died as a result of it. This disorganised his troops and a possible victory was turned into a decisive defeat. The Turks occupied Varanasi, Asni and other cities but Kanauj seems to have retained its independence till 1199. Loss of certain towns and districts weakened the Gahadwals but did not put an end to their power. Harishchandra the son of

Jayachandra had given a grant in 1199 which has been found at Machhlishahr. In it he calls himself an independent ruler. The conquered territory was assigned to Malik Husamuddin while Shihabuddin returned to Ghazni along with the booty. The Rajputs of Baran once more rebelled near Koil but they were suppressed by Aibak.

DEATH OF HARIRAJA (1195):

Finding the Turks engaged in a war against the Gahadwals, Hariraja once more drove his nephew out of Ajmer and sent an army for the conquest of Delhi. Aibak pursued this force to the gates of Ajmer and when it shut itself inside the fort he laid siege to it. Finding no way of escape, Hariraja put an end to his career by performing *jauhar*. It is true he failed to liberate the motherland but that does not detract from the glory of his heroic effort. His example was emulated by numerous later chiefs and local leaders who gave no respite to the Turks. Aibak now entrusted Ajmer to a Muslim governor and sent away Govindraja to Ranthambhor.

BAYANA AND GWALIOR (1195-1196):

In 1195-'96 Shihabuddin once more came to India. He marched towards Bayana and Gwalior. He encountered stiff opposition at both the places. The forts of Tahangarh and Vijayamandirgarh belonging to the Bhattis of Bayana were captured but Gwalior proved such a hard nut to crack that when its ruler agreed to pay an annual tribute, the Sultan was obliged to leave the fort in his possession. But after sometime, constant pressure by Bahauddin Tughril, the governor of Bayana forced the ruler of Gwalior to surrender the fort to him. This probably took place in 1197 although 1200 has also been mentioned as an alternative date.

GUJERAT RAIDED (1197):

In 1196-97, Rajputs made a third attempt to

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drive the Turks out of Rajputana. Merh and Chauhan rebels of the Ajmer region first formed a confederacy and then invited the ruler of Gujerat to assist them in their undertaking. They might have even offered to accept his suzerainty in the event of victory. When the Turkish governor at Ajmer was informed of these military preparations, he asked for speedy reinforcements from Aibak. Aibak himself marched at the head of an army and he began by attacking the Merhs. While fighting was going on, the Gujerat army arrived and the allies inflicted a crushing defeat on Aibak. He shut himself inside the fort while the victors laid a close siege to it. The fall of Ajmer and capture of Aibak seemed imminent but Shihabuddin rushed an army of relief as soon as he heard of these developments. The Rajputs were now forced to raise the siege. Aibak retaliated by invading Gujerat. A highly contested battle was fought but ultimately the Rajputs were defeated, losing 15,000 in killed and wounded and 20,000 as prisoners of war. Aibak plundered the city of Anhilwara but the annexation of Gujerat was beyond his means. He therefore came away after securing a rich booty. Ferishta says that Aibak had left behind a Turkish governor but the Solankis drove him away and Aibak dared not invade Gujerat again.

OTHER CONQUESTS (1197-1203) :

During the next five or six years Aibak had to do much desultory fighting here and there. The Gahadwals were deprived of Kanauj and Badaun and an army was sent in the Varanasi region. When the Chauhans realized the futility of their attempts to recapture Ajmer, they moved farther to the south and established the principalities of Kota, Bundi and Sirohi. Probably Aibak did some fighting against them in that region also because Minhajus-siraj speaks of Aibak's advance upto Ujjain. But these raids did not affect the frontiers of the Turkish empire.

WAR AGAINST THE CHANDELAS (1202-1203):

Bundelkhand was ruled by Parmardin Chandela. No large-scale attempt had been made against him till 1202 when for the first time a full-dress campaign was planned. Kalinjar the strongest Chandela fort was besieged. When Parmardin saw that there was no hope for success, he opened negotiations for peace but died before they were concluded. His minister Ajayadeva broke off negotiations and started war again. Later on water-supply of Kalinjar was stopped either because of some natural obstruction or the effort of the Turks. The Chandelas moved away to Ajayagarh while Kalinjar, Khajuraho and Mahoba were occupied by the Turks who appointed Hasan Arnal as governor in that region.

BIHAR AND BENGAL (1197-1205):

After the defeat of the Gahadwals, Turkish forces had reached upto the confines of Awadh. The army there had a soldier named Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar Khilji. Although he had a clumsy physique and an uncomely appearance he was remarkable for his courage, valour, industry and high spirits. Aibak had been favourably impressed by his martial qualities and he was assigned a small jagir near the western boundary of Bihar. Ikhtiyaruddin raised a small band of troops and started raiding Bihar territory. Later he attacked Uddandapur monastery and put a large number of Buddhist monks to the sword. There he found a library which showed that it had been the seat of a university. According to Taranath, he occupied the university towns of Nalanda and Vikramashila also just about this time. Many Buddhists were killed, some fled to Tibet while others retired to rural areas where the Turks left them in peace. This took place sometime between 1197 and 1202.

Having occupied Bihar, Ikhtiyaruddin attacked Navadwipa (Nudea), the capital of Raja Lakshamansena of Bengal. Marvellous stories of successes of the Turks had reached Bengal already. An astrologer is reported to have prophesied that the Sena dynasty would be destroyed by a long-armed Turk whose hands reached his knees. Some people had advised Lakshamansena to transfer his capital from Navadwipa to some town further to the east. But the Raja while permitting the advisers to move away refused to be as cowardly as that. Ikhtiyaruddin entered Navadwipa posing to be a horse-dealer and threatened to move forward unless the Raja was immediately informed. In the meantime, he acquired some experience of local conditions. The rest of his soldiers also drew near by this time. Just then he started a sudden attack and tried to force his entry into the palace. By the time that the bodyguards and the guardians of the fort got ready, the rest of Ikhtiyaruddin's soldiers also secured an entry into the fort because they found the gates open. The Raja fled to the east and started collecting an army there. Ikhtiyaruddin plundered the capital but in the face of the Raja's constant opposition he could not retain his hold on it. He fixed his headquarters at Lakhnauti instead. Minhajus-siraj says that Lakshmansena died soon after. But there is numismatic evidence that he was certainly alive till 1206 and Ikhtiyaruddin himself died in that year. Hence this incident must have occurred sometime before 1205. Ikhtiyaruddin was able to occupy only a small bit of Bengal territory comprising the districts of Malda, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum.

DEATH OF IKHTIYARUDDIN (1206):

About two years later, Ikhtiyaruddin led an expedition to bring under his control the horse-dealers who used the Assam-Bhutan route. Habibullah refers to a Sanskrit inscription at Gauhati which speaks of his crossing the Brahmaputra beyond the town of Vardhan-kuti to enter Tibetan territory where he suffered such a devastating defeat that out of an army of ten thousand not even a hundred survived. Stricken with shame and grief, he fell ill and was murdered by one of his soldiers named Ali Mardan.

DEATH OF MUIZUDDIN (1206) :

Between 1196 and 1205, the rulers of Ghor and Ghazni had to fight a number of wars against the Shah of Khwarizm. After the death of Ghiyasuddin in 1203, Shihabuddin became the master of Ghor as well and he assumed the style of Muizuddin. In 1205, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Shah of Khwarizm. Just then the Khokhars raised the standard of revolt and tried to seize Lahore. Local officers failed to suppress this rising. Consequently Muizuddin personally came to the Punjab and he summoned Aibak to meet him on the banks of the Jhelum. Joint efforts of Aibak and the Sultan led to the defeat of the Khokhars. Thousands of them were slaughtered and many more were enslaved. Some sought refuge in the forests but the Sultan had them surrounded and set fire to their places of hiding. That killed many others. The Sultan then went to Lahore and having made necessary arrangements he sent Aibak to Delhi while he himself started for Ghazni. While he was encamping at Dhamyak on the Indus and was engaged in offering evening prayer, some persons suddenly rushed into his tent and killed him. This was probably the result of a joint conspiracy by the Shias and the Khokhars.

AN ESTIMATE OF MUIZUDDIN'S ACHIEVEMENT :

The strongest point of Muizuddin was his strong will and untiring energy. In comparison to Mahmud of Ghazni or Sultan Alauddin, the contemporary

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ruler of Khwarizm he was an inferior general. But he has earned a place for himself in history by his firmness and irrepressible optimism. To him goes the credit for making the first systematic attempt to found a Muslim empire in India. Arabs had invaded Sindh only as a measure of retaliation and even in the days of powerful Caliphs no attempt was made to conquer other parts of India. Mahmud of Ghazni was gifted with martial qualities of a very high order. He raided large parts of northern India. But he took no steps to found an empire here. He annexed even Multan and the Punjab which lay close to his frontiers only when he was convinced that it was essential for securing the wealth of other parts of India. Hence although the Arab and Ghaznavid invasions indirectly helped in the foundation of the future Turkish dominion in India they cannot be assigned the credit for actually founding the empire of the Turks. This was done by Shihabuddin alone. He led his campaigns according to a well-thought out and systematic plan of conquest and although he did not abstain from collecting spoils of war, his main objective was empire-building and not acquisition of wealth. That is why he appointed governors in all conquered tracts and continued to help them from time to time. His selections were so wise and correct that none of them played him false. He died without natural heirs of his body and his central Asian empire was soon occupied by the Shah of Khwarizm but his military captains in India preserved his name and glory intact and the Turkish empire founded by him continued to thrive for more than hundred and fifty years despite occasional change of dynasties.

CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE TURKS :

The foregoing account of Mahmud of Ghazni and Shihabuddin of Ghor reveals the fact that although on a number of occasions they were actually defeated or faced with prospects of defeat, ultimately the

Rajputs had to surrender to them most of their chief forts along with the adjoining territory. We also know that Rajputs were so bold and fearless that they could joyfully embrace death and regarded it a special good fortune to be killed on the field of battle. Nor was the country deficient in economic resources or man power so that the number of Rajput soldiers was generally equally matched with that of the Turks. In personal bravery, a Rajput soldier was in no way inferior to his Turkish adversary. In the face of these qualities then why did they prove unequal to the task of defending the independence of their homeland? Some people have assigned causes for the success of the Turks and the defeat of the Rajputs which on closer examination by the torch light of dispassionate reason appear baseless. Evil effects of the hot climate of India, use of elephants, mutual dissensions etc. fall into this category. The Shahiyas of Kabul and the Punjab lived in practically similar climatic conditions as the people of Ghazni and yet they were defeated. It does not appeal to reason that while Mahmud of Ghazni defeated his Central Asian adversaries by the use of elephants, the Rajputs should lose against the Turks on account of using the same elephants. Just as there were numerous mutually hostile Rajput states in India, similarly in Afghanistan and Central Asia also there were numerous Turkish states which were eternally engaged in the task of mutual destruction. Hence these cannot be regarded as the real causes of the success of the Turks. The causes which really led to the victory of the Turks in India may broadly be grouped under six heads: (1) Military, (2) Political, (3) Social, (4) Religious, (5) Personal and (6) Providential. These may be considered in brief one by one.

MILITARY CAUSES:

The Turkish army consisted mainly of cavalry and its horses and horsemen generally had greater stamina and endurance. The Rajput army on the other hand had a numerous infantry which in mobility and manoeuvering could be no match to the cavalry and which could be easily scattered by a cavalry force by the sheer impact of its momentum. The Rajput cavalry lacked good horses because native horses were of a poor quality and they received by import only such horses as had been rejected by the rulers of the lands of their origin. It was therefore well-nigh impossible to secure the best horses for the army at any price. This put the Rajput trooper at a disadvantage in his fight against the Turk. The Turks came from a region where expert military leaders of different lands and peoples used to develop new tactics of war. The strategy of the Turks was therefore likely to be superior and they had access to new weapons of war. The Rajputs on the contrary followed outmoded tactics and were shy of coming into contact with the foreigners. The Rajput army usually contained a corps of elephants which they used to keep in front of the army for disrupting the organisation of the enemy. But if for some reason they got out of control, they trampled down their own men. The Turkish army had no branch of such dubious utility that it might harm its own side. If they maintained elephants, they used them with greater care and generally used them for breaking open gates of forts, trampling down enemy ranks at the time of hand-to-hand fighting or for checking the advance of elephants on the other side. They took good care to ensure that in case of a mishap they should cause the least possible harm to their masters. The Rajput soldier was highly efficient in the use of the spear and the sword and excelled in hand-to-hand fighting. But as an archer he was inferior to the Turk. When the Turks became acquainted with the strong and weak points of their opponents, they avoided a close combat as far as possible and usually made their attack from a safe distance. They were such excellent archers that they could shoot accurately even while swimming or galloping at full speed. A retreating army could at convenient intervals shower arrows on their pursuers with deadly effect. Turkish strategy was in many respects superior to Rajput strategy. The Turkish general usually paid special attention only to directing the movements of his troops and it was only in extremely critical situations that he tried to revive the drooping spirits of his followers by his personal heroism and valour. The Rajput commander on the other hand laid greater stress on exhibition of personal valour than on leading and guiding his troops. The Turkish commander took special care of his personal security for he knew that a leaderless army in a foreign land would be able to accomplish nothing. But Rajput commanders usually went to battle riding on elephants and decorated them so distinctively that both friend and foe alike could spot out their whereabouts from a distance. This helped the enemy in its attempt to kill or wound him or to seduce him away from the thick of battle. The disadvantage to their own side was that if like Jayachandra he fell down wounded or like Prithwiraja took a horse in an emergency, the soldiers could not see him and thought that he was either dead or being convinced of defeat had fled away. In either case, they stopped fighting and ran helter skelter in all directions. The Turks by the use of their reserves turned a defeat into a victory on more than one occasion. But the Rajputs employed all their troops from the very outset. Turning the flank by clever manoeuvering, attacking the enemy's rear, seducing the enemy to leave his entrenched position by a feigned retreat and securing valuable topographical or secret information by bribing or brow-beating the non-combatants were some of the common tactics of the Turks. But the Rajputs did not make use of any of them even on a single occasion. Without bothering about the moral aspect of the means employed, the Turks concentrated only on securing victory. The Rajputs on the contrary were scrupulous about the war being fair. Instead of inflicting maximum losses on a defeated enemy, they would often let him escape. On suffering a defeat, the Turks redoubled their efforts for a subsequent victory. Rajput commanders, careless of the lives of their soldiers, sacrified themselves in vindication of a false sense of prestige and in the event of defeat rarely thought of disengaging themselves betimes and leading the largest possibe number of soldiers to safety. That is why in the event of defeat number of casualties and prisoners on their side was so high. This told upon the future military resources of the land. The Turks had *manjniqs*, *arradas* and other machines for making breaches in forts but the Rajputs had no such weapons. Shihabuddin easily captured Bhatinda. But Prithwiraja took thirteen long months to capture the same indigenous fort with every detail of whose defences he was supposed to be familiar. In 1195 Aibak pressed Hariraja so hard that although in possession of the fort of Ajmer he could not defend it. But in 1196-1197 when the victorious army of Merh, Chauhans and Solankis surrounded Aibak in Ajmer they could not capture the fort by defeating the foreigner. The Turks were always on the offensive and chose the field of battle according to their convenience. But the Rajputs were almost always on the defensive and they had to fight when and where the Turks should choose to come. This too favoured the Turks. All the battles were fought on Indian territory so that no matter which party won, the sufferers were always the Indian people. To realize their objective, the Turks sometimes tried to strike terror in the hearts of the people by putting all opponents to the sword and burning their villages and towns. The Turks were thus an object of terror for the common people. The Turkish army contained a large proportion of permanent and well-trained soldiers who had a sentiment of special regard for their masters. But the Rajput army consisted mostly of feudal levies which were more devoted to their local chief than even to the king and which stopped fighting as soon as their leader got dissatisfied, killed or wounded. Besides, the Rajput army often consisted of mercenaries who had no sense of devotion towards any ruler or state. The Turkish army consisted mostly of Turks and other foreign races who could hope to benefit only by the success of their leader. They therefore put their heart and soul in the fight. Their armies sometimes contained some Hindus as well but they were people who for one reason or the other intensely hated their countrymen and were willing to do everything to secure their defeat. This was mainly due to differences of caste and creed and a sentiment of loyalty to the 'salt'. The Turkish army thus had no traitors in its ranks. But Rajput armies sometimes had Muslim soldiers also who under the influence of religious bigotry sometimes proved false at a very critical moment. The military spies of the Turks were fairly competent and they did their utmost to find out probable traitors to their motherland and to win them over to their side. Mahmud of Ghazni had made a similar use of Sewakpala and the Raja of Narayanpur. He had received this type of assisstance also during the Somnath expedition. Shihabuddin received similar assistance from Govindraja the son of Prithwiraja in Ajmer and from Ajayapala, a relation of Chandrasen in Baran. The Rajput army was recruited only from a section of the people viz. the Kshattriyas and because of constant warfare, younger element was fast dying out. But for enrolment in the Turkish army every citizen of the state was eligible. The Turkish army therefore had greater vitality. The Turkish army fought under the influence of sentiments of personal gain, worldly enjoyment and spiritual advancement. Consequently the Rajputs who fought neither for the defence of the land, nor for upholding the dignity of their creed but to vindicate the salt of a particular individual could never fight with as much zeal as the Turks. The Rajput army lacked a sense of homogeneity because of caste differences and a false sense of dignity. The prospects of personal promotion were also limited. The Turkish soldiers—free and slave alike—fought with the conviction that by personal valour and courage they could rise even to the dignity of the Sultan. For this reason also personal profit motive contributed to the victory of the army as a whole.

POLITICAL CAUSES:

The administrative system of the Turks was not altogether free from defects. But their political system had certain special features which proved advantageous in the task of conquest in India. At least in theory their ruler—after conversion to Islam—was chosen by election. It was therefore difficult for an incompetent person to remain on the throne merely on dynastic grounds. At the same time, for a really able person it was possible to secure the throne even if he had no connection with the ruling family. Therefore only such persons could remain rulers of the Turks who were either themselves competent or enjoyed the support and devotion of competent men. It is these able rulers that invaded India. Secondly, according to Islam all Muslims irrespective of race or colour were entitled to equal rights—political as well as others. Consequently it was not only easy for the state to secure their hearty co-operation but the choice of officers for different posts could be made from a wider circle. As opposed to this, the Rajputs believed in hereditary monarchy and they usually gave all higher appointments only to Brahmins or Kshattriyas. Here also the principle of division of functions applied so that Brahmins were generally appointed only to the posts of ministers or civilian officers. The principle of heredity was also sometimes applied so that the father was succeeded by his son. It was thus impossible for them to secure the support of the entire community. Their laws also were based on discrimination. This made self-respecting individuals of lower castes greatly dissatisfied. It is this class that offered the greatest help to the Turkish invaders. The common people were entitled neither to a share in administration nor to participate in the defence of their homes and hearths. There was thus no intimate contact between the rulers and the ruled. The people had developed an attitude of indifference towards political matters. They thought that it was none of their business to run the government or defend the land. This political indifference of the masses proved very helpful to the Turkish conquerors. Besides, the Rajputs being always engaged in fighting were busy building up military resources and had little time for acts of public welfare. There was therefore no particular enthusiasm for their government. The political ideal of the Rajputs was to become a *Chakravartin.* Hence every ambitious ruler was intent on defeating his neighbours. But in the event of success, he was content with reducing him to a status of vassalage and made no attempt to establish his own government by uprooting the dynasty of the vanquished chief. Thus in every large kingdom there were always people who kept anxiously waiting for the day when the central government should become weak and were more inspired by sentiments of disaffection than of devotion and loyalty. Practical result of the *Chakravartin* ideal thus was endless and ceaseless fighting and the growth of feudalism. The Rajputs were so engrossed in their pastime of internal fighting that they paid no attention to the organisation of a regular foreign department. The power of the Rajputs was thus getting weaker and weaker. Turks assumed the offensive when the Rajputs had already weakened themselves. What is surprising is that despite these faults, the Rajputs as a race still had the strength and virility to defeat the army of Shihabuddin on three different occasions and even after their defeat in war and the demise of old leaders they never stopped local opposition to the Turks and even in the face of oppression and repression by them, they never forsook the faith in their capacity to drive them out of their homelands. If they had fought the foreigner under the leadership of an agreed commander and if a majority of the members of the defeated dynasties had not left for Rajputana and Madhya Bharat, the opposition of the Rajputs would have been far more effective.

SOCIAL CAUSES:

But this was impossible. The social organisation of the Rajputs was particularly responsible for this. They were divided into a number of clans each of which laid great store by its own family traditions. The highest civil and military appointments in the state usually went to the members of the ruling clan. They monopolised most of the feudal baronies as well. Thus their clannish and family prejudices rendered them utterly unfit for waging war under a common leader. They had many virtues too. They have received high praise for their courage, valour, love for truth, devotion to learning, and capacity to die for a cause cheerfully. Their character is further ennobled by their respect for women, children and old men, scrupulous regard for the interests of non-combatants, and protection of those that sought political asylum with them. But they were not free from faults and in certain circumstances even their merits turned into demerits. Though they deserve praise for upholding noble traditions of the family, it was a serious fault to become so vain on the score of it that joining hands against a common enemy should become impossible. To die for a cause signifies courage and sense of self-respect but to insist on mere dying without regard to time and place is an utter folly from a military point of view. Besides, they were addicted to intoxicants, dicing and polygamy which were undermining their morals, grit and character. These defects were silently eating into the vitals of the Rajput community. By ostracising contact with the foreigner and regarding themselves as the most superior race on earth they paved the ground for their own cultural decline. This degenerate community could not resuscitate itself by leaning on the support of other classes in society. According to the caste-dispensation of the Hindus career was determined not by one's aptitude or inclination but by the accident of birth so that more than half the people were excluded from and rendered apathetic to the defence of their land. There was thus no sense of nationalism or patriotism and the Turks had to fight not against Indians but against a few dynasties. This rendered the task of their conquest easy and settlement of the conquered territory also presented no serious problems.

RELIGIOUS CAUSES:

Religiously also India was not in a strong position. There were numerous sects whose rivalries sometimes crossed the limits of learned disputation and assumed the form of political conspiracies. The doctrine of *Karma* instead of making them devoted to duty and free enterprise was making them arrant fatalists and they had begun to depend on astrology, potentiality of past deeds and inevitability of fate to such an extent that they often lost all self-confidence or became hopelessly careless. It was this aspect of Hindu life which largely determined the defeat of Lakshmansena against Ikhtiyaruddin. The Indian people stoically agreed to suffer at the hands of the Turks because they looked upon it as a divine dispensation or the ripening of the effect of their past deeds. They did not look upon resistance to them as a solemn duty towards their land and faith. The Muslims on the contrary do not believe in the doctrine of rebirth. Considering themselves alone predominantly responsible for their joys and sufferings in life they exert to their utmost capacity. In their wars in India, they raised the cry of *jehad* and fought stubbornly for they know that in the event of victory they would be heirs to the wealth and resources of India and in case of death would be counted among martyrs and shall enjoy the pleasures of heaven in the other world. Thus religious faith induced military indolence in the Hindu and courage and strength in the Turk. Many Muslim preachers had also come to India and the invaders received valuable help from the neo-converts. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the Buddhist and Jain doctrine of *Ahimsa* has also adversely affected the Indian people and blunted their martial qualities.

PERSONAL CAUSES:

Besides these, the personal factor also counts. Mahmud of Ghazni, Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam and Qutbuddin Aibak were commanders of a high order. They had an opportunity of acquiring extensive experience in various theatres of war. They were born leaders. Among Indian princes, Jayapala, Bhim the Fearless, Bhoj Parmar, Prithwiraja Chauhan, Jayachandra Rathor etc., were also capable military leaders but all points considered they were not as experienced, farsighted and resourceful as their Turkish forbears. That is why they made a blunder here or there and the Turk took advantage of this to inflict a defeat on them. The success of the Turks was thus due not to their superiority to the Rajputs as a class but to the superiority of Turkish commanders to their respective Hindu opponents. This too affected the fortunes of war.

PROVIDENTIAL:

A conqueror is often represented in History so superior to the vanquished as if the latter could in no case achieve a victory. This attitude is not very sound. In the life of man and people there are occasions when chance incidents play such a decisive role that they change the very course of their future career. The victory of the Turks, among other reasons, was also brought about by chance and good luck. In 986 Jayapala had to accept a humiliating treaty because a sudden snowing and hailstorm had caused havoc in his ranks. It is from here that the morale of his troops began to go down. If this evil fate had instead overtaken, Subuktagin's army, none knows what would have been the subsequent history of the two peoples. Similarly, sudden flight of Ganda Chandela, running amok of the elephant of Anandpala's son, non-coming of the tide while Mahmud's army was wading through the shallows of Rann of Cutch, an arrow piercing the eye of Jayachandra etc., are instances where chance accidents changed the fate of war and it is remarkable that it was always in favour of the Turks.

The success of the Turks was thus the cumulative effect of all these factors. It should also be borne in mind that the victory of the Turks was never so thorough that it should obliterate the very name of Rajput. Their power was generally confined to chief towns and forts. There too Rajput guerillas gave them no rest. Local revolts never ceased, independent Rajput states persisted throughout the period and continued to challenge the authority of the Turks, Consequently, neither the Turks got an opportunity to do whatever they pleased nor the Indians ever lost faith in themselves or the superiority of their culture.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. II, Introduction and pp. 115-153 and 202-294.
2. Habibullah—The Foundation of Muslim Empire in India, pp. 20-28, 309-313, and appendices A & B.
3. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 38-49.
4. Muhammad Aziz Ahmed—Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, pp. 1-122.

Section 2

FOUNDATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

IV. Aibak and Ilbari Dynasties

V. The Second Ilbari Dynasties—Ghiyasuddin Balban

CHAPTER IV

AIBAK AND ILBARI DYNASTIES

PARTITION OF MUIZUDDIN'S EMPIRE :

After Muizuddin's death, his nephew Ghiyasuddin Mahmud became the ruler of Ghor. But he was in constant fear of internal revolts and foreign invasions. The Shah of Khwarizm seemed determined to annex both Ghor and Ghazni but Ghiyas lacked the capacity to resist his advance. At home, Tajuddin Yaldoz, Nasiruddin Qubacha and Qutbuddin Aibak were very able and ambitious among the Turkish nobles of Muizuddin and each one of them aspired for independence. Ghiyas could not suppress their revolts either. Hence immediately after the death of Muizuddin, partition of his empire started. Tajuddin who held the province of Kirman occupied Ghazni and wished to bring India also under his suzerainty. Nasiruddin Qubacha who had held Multan and Uchh since 1205, occupied the whole of Sindh and decided to declare his independence.

QUTBUDDIN AIBAK :

The most powerful among Muizuddin's lieutenants was Qutbuddin Aibak. His parents were residents of Turkistan but he was purchased early in life by Qazi Fakhruddin Abdul Aziz Kufi of Nishapur. Fakhruddin was so highly impressed by his intelligence and good manners that he gave him a thorough schooling. Later, he was sold to Shihabuddin of Ghor who was then the master of Ghazni. This brought Aibak's star on the ascendant. Shihabuddin was already pleased with his heroism and courage. When he was found to be generous and loyal in addition, he rose high in the favours of his master. He was first appointed as *Amir Akhur* (Lord of the

Stables) and when Shihabuddin defeated Prithwiraja a few years later, he appointed Aibak governor of the Punjab and the Doab. We have seen in the last chapter how between 1192-1197 Aibak defended the newly founded Turkish empire and extended its frontiers despite stiff opposition by the Rajputs. Aibak acted throughout in complete accord with the wishes of his master. Between 1197-1205, he assisted in the defeat of the Chandelas, Senas and Khokhars and since 1196 he was formally appointed the viceroy of Shihabuddin's Indian possessions. Between 1192-1205 the work of conquest in India was generally done by Aibak alone, Shihabuddin coming to his aid personally or through a deputy only in 1194 against Jayachandra, in 1195 against Bayana and Gwalior, in 1196-1197 against the Merhs and Solankis and in 1205 against the Khokhars. Thus Aibak had virtually controlled the destinies of the Turkish empire in India so that all the Turkish officers in the land had got accustomed to looking upon him as their chief. It was therefore easy for him to assume full sovereignty.

QUTBUDDIN BECOMES THE SULTAN:

Qutbuddin wanted to establish an independent Turkish Sultanate in India without a violent rupture with the ruler of Ghor. There were two reasons for this. He knew that Ghiyas's incompetence coupled with the hostility of the Shah of Khwarizm would soon lead to the dissolution of the Ghorian empire. If India remained an appanage of Ghor, it was also bound to be invaded by the Shah of Khwarizm. This he considered fatal for the stability and progress of the Turkish Sultanate. In the second place, he himself aspired for the sovereignty of India. He thought that if the Ghorian monarch willingly recognized him as the independent ruler of India, it would be easy for him to overcome his rivals and opponents. He therefore sent a message accompanied with rich presents to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud proposing that if he were appointed as the Sultan of India, he would assist him in his wars against the Shah of Khwarizm. Ghiyas realized the impossibility of forcibly keeping Aibak under his control because of the hostility of the Shah of Khwarizm. He therefore tried to conciliate him. He sent him a throne, canopy, mace, ensign and kettledrums which were regarded as symbols of royalty. He also conferred on him the title of Sultan. In the meantime Aibak had consolidated his position in India. The Turkish nobles of Lahore invited him for coronation and Aibak was formally raised to the throne in June 1206. His authority over Delhi was already intact.

PROBLEMS BEFORE HIM :

But there were numerous knotty problems which he must solve before his position could become really secure. He had no doubt been acknowledged the Sultan and according to Minhaj-us-siraj his name was simultaneously introduced both in the *Khutba* and the *Sikka* but he was still a slave and according to the law of Islam no slave could become the sovereign of an Islamic state. Conscious of this defect, he described himself in his inscriptions only as '*Malik*' or '*Sipahsalar*' although he exercised all rights of sovereignty. Prof. Habibullah feels that he could not have introduced his name in the *Khutba* or the *Sikka* and that is probably the reason why no coin has been found which may be indubitably assigned to him. He further suggests that Minhaj's statement is a mere repetition of the usual formula about assumption of royalty. Aibak's first great necessity therefore was to obtain a letter of manumission. He got it from Ghiyasuddin in 1208 when he became perfectly entitled to call himself the first legal Sultan of the Turkish empire in India.

Secondly, there were many slaves and lieutenants of Muizuddin who were very ambitious and held high posts. This threatened the Turkish empire in India with dissolution. Two persons deserve special mention in this connection. One was Nasiruddin Qubacha, the governor of Multan and Uchh who had been gaining more and more prominence since 1205. Aibak offered one of his daughters in marriage to him and he agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty. The other man was Ali Mardan who had usurped the government of Bengal after murdering Ikhtiyaruddin. He aspired for independence. But the Khilji nobility hated him as the murderer of Ikhtiyaruddin. Failing to establish his authority, Ali Mardan fled to Aibak and secured his support by pleading his innocence. Aibak realized his inability to interfere in the internal affairs of Bengal because of other preoccupations, he therefore decided to maintain his authority over Bengal by conferring its government on Ali Mardan. He sent him to Bengal with a contingent of his own troops. The Khilji amirs bowed before Ali Mardan when they found that Aibak was supporting him. This put an end to Khilji intransigence in Bengal.

Aibak had also to safeguard his north-western frontier. Tajuddin Yaldoz regarded himself as heir to the dignities of Muizuddin simply because he had occupied Ghazni, the seat of government of the late Sultan. He was anxious to bring India under his suzerainty. A far greater danger was to be apprehended from the side of the Shah of Khwarizm who wanted to conquer and annex the entire Ghorian possessions. Aibak strengthened his position by winning over Qubacha to his side and then sat down at Lahore to reinforce the defences of the Punjab. Yaldoz was mightily offended with Qubacha and he tried to seize Lahore. But Aibak not only defeated and drove him out of the land but retaliated by occupying Ghazni itself. But the people of Ghazni seem to have preferred the rule of Yaldoz hence they rose in revolt in his favour and Aibak was obliged to return to India. Aibak is said to have become unpopular because he gave himself up to pleasures of the flesh. But the real explanation lies elsewhere. The people of Ghazni could not reconcile themselves to the lot of being governed by a lieutenant of the ruler of Delhi after having enjoyed the dignity of the imperial capital. Aibak would not have ruled over India from Ghazni but Ghazni from Delhi. This appeared humiliating to them. That is why they rose in favour of Yaldoz and Aibak returned to Lahore after spending 40 days at Ghazni. Yaldoz had now got a measure of the power of Aibak and he caused him no trouble in future. In that sense, despite apparent failure of Aibak to hold Ghazni his policy of sealing his own frontiers had been successful.

Aibak had also to deal with Hindu revolts. No sooner did they learn of Muizuddin's death, they started their offensive to uproot the power of the Turks with a redoubled vigour. Trailokyavarma Chandela reoccupied Kalinjar and driving the Turks out of his kingdom made their south-ward progress impossible. The Parihars reconquered Gwalior and drove out the Turks. A number of chiefs in Doab stopped paying tribute and cleared the land of all Turks. Harishchandra, the successor of Jayachandra tried to revive the power of the Gahadwals and he forced the Turks to evacuate Farrukhabad and Badaun regions. The Senas were pressing towards the west to regain their lost possessions. In a situation like this, there was every danger of the Sultanate coming to an end because of internecine quarrels. Having secured his eastern and western frontiers, Aibak turned against the chiefs of Doab. But the fear of Yaldoz prevented him from concentrating all his energies against them so that although he was able to reoccupy Badaun where he appointed one of his slaves Iltutmish as the governor and to levy tribute from minor chiefs but he was unable to secure Gwalior or Kalinjar. In 1210, he died as a result of a fall from his horse while playing *Chaugan*.

ESTIMATE OF HIS WORK:

Aibak was a skilled rider, an unfailling shot with the bow, an able commander and vigorous leader. He served his master with consistent devotion. Sir Wolseley Haig and a number of other scholars regard him as the real founder of Muslim dominion in India. Habibullah says that although Muizuddin gave the inspiration, it was Aibak who organised every aspect of the Sultanate of Delhi according to a systematic scheme. It may be said that the credit for what Aibak did in the life-time of Muizuddin should really go to him because it was he who had appointed Aibak, had given him his implicit confidence and had been constantly aiding him with suggestions and reinforcements as occasion demanded. But the success of the schemes of his master was largely due to the changes and modifications introduced by Aibak, in course of executing them. It was Aibak who suppressed the enemies of the infant Turkish empire and gave it a tentative government. After the death of his master, he acted with great farsight in separating the kingdom of Delhi from the non-Indian territories of the Ghorian empire and gave it an independent status. He may not have been the founder of the Turkish dominion in India but it was he who gave to the Sultanate of Delhi the rudiments of a government. Despite the stories of his power, generosity and love of justice he could not establish a strong government though it may be disputed whether it was at all possible to do so in the existing circumstances.

ARAMSHAH (1210-1211):

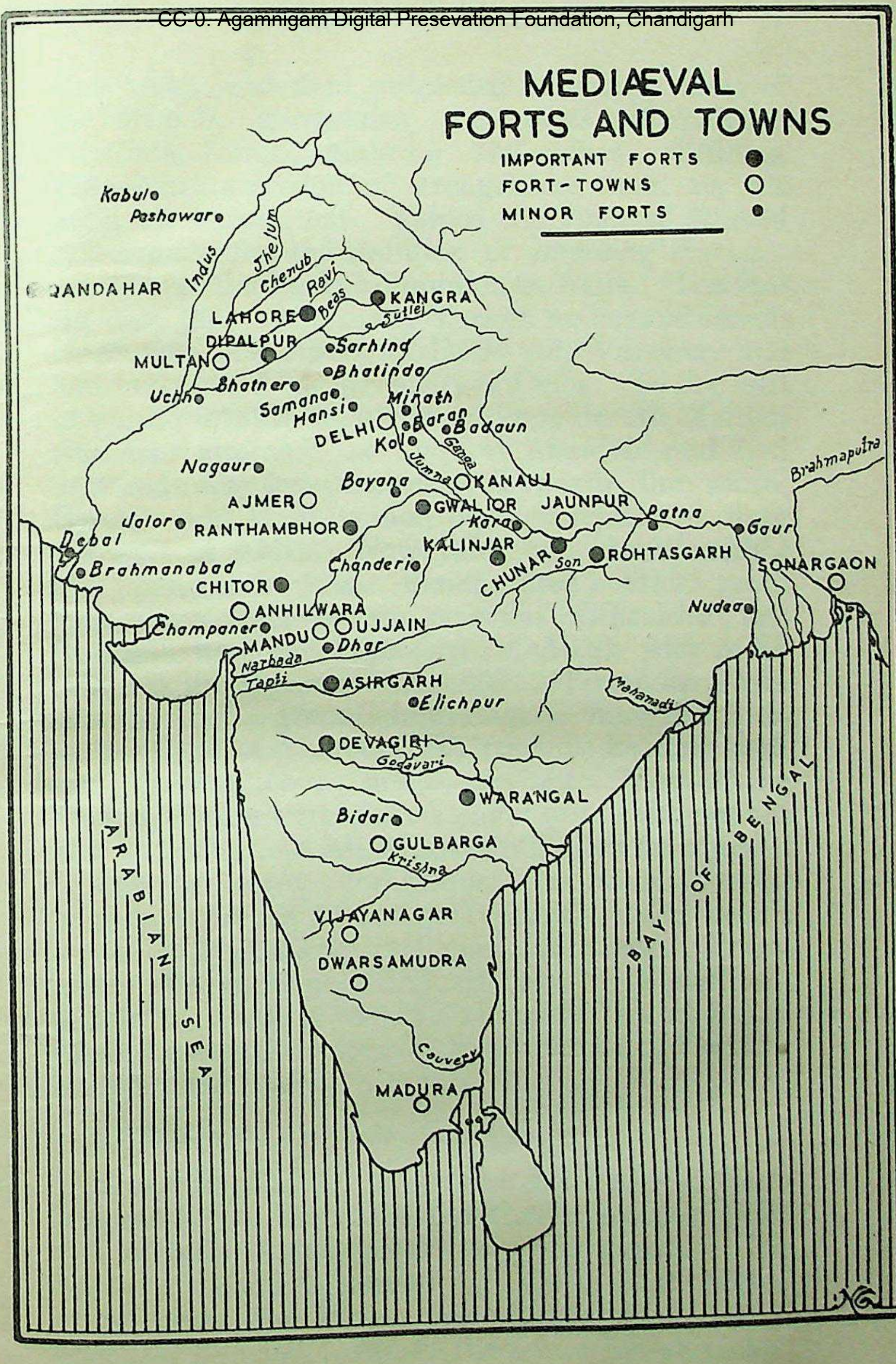
After the death of Qutbuddin, the Turkish nobility of Lahore raised Aramshah to the throne. The Delhi nobles did not like it. Between 1206-1210, Aibak had generally remained at Lahore looking after the defence of the north-western frontier. The people of Lahore therefore wanted to make it the capital of the Sultanate. On the other hand, the people of Delhi would not brook any diminution in the dignity of their own city. As Aramshah was crowned at Lahore, it was natural that most of the prize posts should fall to the share of the nobles there. This affected the interests of the nobles at Delhi. They therefore planned to remove Aramshah from the throne. They might have done so apparently in the interest of the state and might have proclaimed that in the critical stage through which the Sultanate was passing a person like Aramshah would be utterly unequal to the task of government. Abdullah Wassaf says that Qutbuddin Aibak had no son. Minhaj-us-siraj says that on Aibak's death, the nobles and chiefs in the land placed Aramshah on the throne for the satisfaction of the army, peace of the commonalty and security of the realm. He follows it up by the statement that Sultan Qutbuddin had three daughters one of whom had been married to Iltutmish. Thus Minhaj also does not directly call Aramshah a son of Aibak. Consequently while some scholars call him the son of Aibak others challenge it. Later incidents show that Aram was by no means a competent person. Then what was the basis for his elevation to the throne? Most of the scholars feel that this could be done only because he was a son of Aibak. Any way, the death of Aibak was the signal for mutual quarrels which might jeopardise the very existence of the Sultanate. Qubacha declared his independence at Multan and Uchh. Ali Mardan did the same in Bengal. In these circumstances, the nobles of Delhi led by Ali Ismail invited Iltutmish to come to Delhi for assuming sovereignty. Iltutmish marched from Badaun to Delhi. Aramshah led an army against him but Iltutmish defeated him and ascended the throne at Delhi under the style of Shams-ud-din. Aramshah was either murdered or died in prison. Thus the dynasty of Aibak ended and its place was taken by the Ilbaris. Shamsuddin Iltutmish himself was the founder of the first Ilbari dynasty.

EARLY LIFE OF ILTUTMISH :

Iltutmish was the son of an Ilbari chief named Yelam Khan. He was very handsome and promising so that he became the favourite of his father. But his brothers and relatives became jealous of him on that ground and they one day sold him away to a horse-dealer. Having passed through many masters, he was finally purchased by Aibak and by virtue of his merits soon won his trust and confidence. In 1205, he exhibited such valour and heroism in the fight against the Khokhars that he won the praise of Sultan Muizuddin himself who got him manumitted forthwith. Under Aibak, he was appointed the governor of Badaun where he had to do a lot of fighting against Gahadwala chiefs. He exhibited during these wars such firmness, ability, military capacity for leadership that a majority of the nobles at Delhi decided to make him the successor of Aibak. The account given by Minhaj-us-siraj leaves the impression that he married one of Aibak's daughters after his elevation to the throne. But other chroniclers ascribe this marriage to the life-time of Aibak himself.

PROBLEMS BEFORE HIM :

The problems of Iltutmish increased manifold on his becoming the master of Delhi. The Gahadwalas increased the tempo of their counter-attacks as soon as they learnt of his departure from Badaun. In Delhi and its neighbourhood, there were a number of Turkish amirs who were unwilling to acknowledge his authority even after his victory over Aramshah. Because of their opposition, his position even in the capital was not quite safe. Towards the east, west and south, practically the whole of the empire had been lost. Qubacha had himself crowned in Multan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FORT-TOWNS ○
MINOR FORTS •
Kabul
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KANGRA
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Sarhind
Bhatinda
Bhatner
Uchh
Samana
Hansi
Minath
Baran
Badaun
DELHI
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Jumna
Nagaur
Bayana
KANAUJ
AJMER
GWALIOR
JAUNPUR
Patna
Brahmaputra
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ASIRGARH
Elichpur
Mahanadi
DEVAGIRI
Godavari
WARANGAL
Bidar
GULBARGA
Krishna
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
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DWARSAMUDRA
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and Uchh and then proceeded to occupy most of the Punjab, garrisoning the towns of Lahore, Bhatinda, Sirsuti, Kuhram and others. With a little more accession of strength, he could try his hand on Delhi itself. Yaldoz the ruler of Ghazni still entertained the ambition of imposing his suzerainty over the Turkish dominion in India. Towards the east, there were many Turkish nobles and Hindu chiefs who had seized all lands upto Varanasi and had renounced the authority of Delhi. To the east of Varanasi, lay the Khilji kingdom under Ali Mardan who had assumed the style of Alauddin and had declared his independence. Towards the south, Gwalior and Kalinjar had been independent since the days of Aibak. Now Jalor and Ranthambhor also joined their ranks. Besides these political problems there were certain personal difficulties too. Iltutmish had been the slave of Aibak who in his turn was the slave of Muizuddin. Free-born Turks considered it a great humilitation to have to submit to this slave of a slave. Till recently he had been the governor of a small province. Most of the Turkish leaders were of the same status while persons like Qubacha and Ali Mardan had been far superior to him in respect and status. To bring all these persons under his authority, Iltutmish would need a great deal of courage, intelligence and power. Fortunately, Iltutmish possessed all these in a sufficient measure. That is why he ultimately succeeded in strengthening the roots of the Sultanate of Delhi by infusing fresh vigour into it.

SUPPRESSION OF REVOLTS:

Iltutmish decided to establish his authority on a firm footing in the Doab and the environs of Delhi as a prelude to subsequent wars of conquest. The *Sar-i-jandar* and a number of Qutbi and Muizzi amirs were collecting their forces near Delhi. Iltutmish marched against them and by a violent charge scattered their forces. Most of the rebel leaders were killed. Next, as a result of operations lasting for many months he vanquished the Hindu and Turkish chiefs of the Delhi, Badaun, Awadh, Varanasi and Tarai regions and forced them to acknowledge his sovereignty. This made the capital secure and gave such stability to his power that he could plan the subjugation of more powerful enemies of the Sultanate.

WARS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER:

Iltutmish now tried to secure his north-western frontier. He scented the greatest danger to his position from the rising power of Qubacha who had extended his authority almost to the gates of Delhi. He too was a son-in-law of Aibak and what was more he had been one of the chief lieutenants of Muizuddin in India. Iltutmish must crush or cripple his power speedily. Then there were Khokhars who regarded themselves as heirs to the whole of the Punjab and were organising constant raids on Turkish outposts. Iltutmish proceeded very diplomatically. He sought recognition of his title from Yaldoz. He might even have hinted at the danger to Delhi and Ghazni from the rising power of Qubacha. Yaldoz recognized him as the Sultan of Delhi but he tried to assert his own supremacy over him by sending him insignia of royalty. This was in a sense derogatory to the power of Iltutmish but he made no protests for the time being because of the exigencies of the situation.

YALDOZ OCCUPIES THE PUNJAB:

With a view to assert his supremacy over Qubacha, Yaldoz had invaded the Punjab sometime before 1215 and having occupied Lahore and the larger part of the province rolled Qubacha back towards the south. This might be advantageous to Iltutmish in the sense that he could now occupy places like

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Bhatinda, Kuhram and Sirsuti. But a far greater danger lurked in it. The empire of Ghazni under the hammer blows of the Shah of Khwarizm was in its last stages of dissolution. Having lost Ghazni, Yaldoz will surely fall back upon the Punjab and would thus constitute a danger both for Iltutmish and Qubacha, or wrose, the Shah of Khwarizm could come to India in pursuit of Yaldoz and having expelled him from the Punjab might try his hand on Delhi itself.

Defeat and death of Yaldoz (1215-1217):

Iltutmish therefore started military preparations. In the meantime, the Shah of Khwarizm occupied Ghazni and Yaldoz fled to Lahore. He asserted his supremacy over Iltutmish once again and proceeded towards Delhi. But this time Iltutmish was ready to meet him. He proceeded at the head of the Delhi army and defeated and captured Yaldoz in the plains of Tarain. The pretender to supremacy over Delhi was dressed in tatters and paraded through the streets of the capital. He was then sent as a prisoner to Badaun where either he died a little later or was killed.

First defeat of Qubacha (1217):

After the defeat of Yaldoz, Qubacha probably accepted the suzerainty of Iltutmish and reoccupied Lahore. But his submission was not genuine and sincere. That is why as soon as Iltutmish had returned to Delhi, he went back on the promises he had made. Iltutmish therefore sent an army for the conquest of Lahore in 1217. Qubacha failed to hold Lahore which fell to Iltutmish. Nasiruddin Mahmud the eldest son of the Sultan was appointed governor there.

Jalaluddin Mungbarani in India (1220-1224):

Iltutmish wanted to invade Sindh only after consolidating his position in the Punjab. That is why he let Qubacha alone for the time being. Just then a fresh problem cropped up. The Mongols started their invasions of Central Asia and Muslim states began to crumble and fall with great rapidity. The Shah of Khwarizm also failed to check their advance and suffering a defeat at their hands fled towards the Caspian sea. His son Jalaluddin Mungbarani at the same time crossed the Indus and entered the Punjab. He drove away the agents of Qubacha and occupied Lahore. He sought Iltutmish's alliance against the Mongols and tried to whip up his religious sentiment. But Iltutmish was a very shrewd ruler. He could clearly see that the best interests of the Sultanate demanded that Jalaluddin should evacuate the Punjab and cross back the Indus as early as possible. He was also aware that Jalaluddin might be preferred as the Sultan of Dehli because of his high family and impressive personality. This would jeopardise the position of Iltutmish himself. He was also afraid lest the Mongols should enter India in the pursuit of Jalaluddin and try to disrupt the Turkish empire here as they had done in case of every other Muslim state lying on their way. He therefore had the envoy murdered and sent word to Jalaluddin that the climate of India would not suit him. This was a broad hint that he should leave India forthwith. This naturally offended Mungabarani. He now tried to curry favour with the Khokhars, married a Khokhar princess, and tried to extend his influence in the Punjab at the head of an army. Considering Qubacha weaker than Iltutmish and aware of the fact that his relations with the Khokhars were not cordial he fell upon Qubacha's territory and started plundering it. Just then he got the news that the tide was turning in his favour in Khorasan. He therefore crossed the Indus in 1224 to return home. But during his stay in India, he had considerably weakened the power of Qubacha who was simultaneously distracted by other difficulties as well. The Mongols attacked Multan and caused widespread damage there. This was a great shock to the dignity of Qubacha. A number of Khiljis migrated to India just about this time and settled down in the frontier regions. They too were a source of constant trouble to Qubacha. As a result of these distractions Qubacha had to concentrate all his attention on Multan, Uchh and Lahore.

FINAL DEFEAT AND DEATH OF QUBACHA (1227-1228):

Taking advantage of this situation, Iltutmish first occupied Bhatinda, Kuhram and Sirsuti. Then in 1227 he attacked Lahore. A little later he sent its governor Nasiruddin Aitigin to attack Multan. The Sultan himself accompanied by his *wazir* Kamal-uddin Muhammad Junaidi made for Uchh. Qubacha got unnerved by these developments. Entrusting the defence of Uchh to his minister, he fled to Bhakkar. The result of this was that Multan surrendered immediately while Uchh also passed under Iltutmish's control within three months. Now he sent an army with Junaidi for the capture of Bhakkar. Qubacha proposed peace but it was rejected and when in despair he was running away with his treasure laden on a boat, the boat sank and he was drowned. Thus northern Sindh passed under Iltutmish's control and he deputed his agents for its government. Malik Sinanuddin, the Sumra chief of Southern Sindh also made his submission about this time and agreed to pay annual tribute. Leaving Junaidi to settle the conqurered territory and reorganise its affairs, Iltutmish returned to Delhi laden with a rich booty.

ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB:

Iltutmish still had two enemies in the Punjab—the Khokhars and their ally Saifuddin Qarlugh. The latter was trying to maintain Mungbarani's authority over the Western Punjab. Iltutmish carried on a stubborn fight against the Khokhars which lasted for many months and annexed a part of their territory. Besides Lahore he was certainly the master of Sialkot, Jalandhar and Nandana. Iltutmish posted Aitigin at Nandana and settled Turkish and Afghan soldiery in the disaffected regions. They were assigned Khokhar villages in jagir. Establishment of these outposts and the preceding wars secured for the Sultan central, north-eastern and eastern Punjab.

CONQUEST OF BENGAL (1225-1230):

Immediately after the death of Aibak, Bengal had become independent but the rule of Ali Mardan proved so oppressive that the people rose in revolt. About 1212, Ali Mardan was deposed and killed and his place was given to Hisamuddin Iwaz who assumed the style of Ghiyasuddin. He annexed Bihar and made wars against the Rajas of Jajnagar, Tirhut, Kamrup, Orissa and East Bengal and exacted from them large sums of money as tribute or war-indemnity. He had an eye on public welfare so that his authority continued to grow from strength to strength.

Iltutmish first occupied South Bihar and then in 1225 started for Bengal. Iwaz first prepared for war but when he got a correct measure of Iltutmish's strength he accepted his suzerainty without fighting in order to avoid useless bloodshed. He also agreed to surrender all insignia of royalty and to introduce the name of the Sultan in the *Khutba* and the *Sikka.* At the same time he presented to the Sultan 38 elephants and 80 lakh coins. He also agreed to pay annual tribute and to recognise the authority of the Sultan over Bihar. There is no mention, however, of the exact amount of tribute. Iltutmish was satisfied with this arrangement and he returned to Delhi. He appointed Alauddin Jani as the governor of Bihar.

After his return from Bengal, Iltutmish had just started planning other conquests when he got the disturbing news that Iwaz had driven Alauddin Jani out of Bihar and had appointed his own governor there. He had similarly flouted other terms of the treaty as well. Iltutmish did not want to go east again just then. He therefore asked his son Nasiruddin Mahmud then governor of Awadh to invade Bengal at the earliest possible opportunity. Mahmud was an able general. He first tried to raise the morale of his troops by making successful raids against the Rajas of Awadh and with the help of the booty secured there he recruited more troops into his army. Just then in 1226 while Iwaz was busy fighting in the east he made a sudden swoop on Bengal and captured Lakhnauti. Iwaz doubled back to wrest his capital but he was defeated and slain. Mahmud now stayed on to rule over Bengal as his father's deputy. For the demonstration of his strength and ability he continued a forward policy. But many Khilji amirs who were unwilling to remain under Delhi's tutelage kept up the struggle. In the meantime Mahmud suddently died. This led to a general revolt. According to Habibullah the rebels had two principal leaders. One of them was Daulatshah who despite proclaiming himself as the Sultan promised to acknowledge the suzerainty of Iltutmish and kept the latter's name on the coinage. But the other leader named Balaka favoured complete independence. A war ensued between the two. Iltutmish led a second army into Bengal in 1230 and having suppressed all opposition he appointed Alauddin Jani as the governor of Bengal who remained loyal to Delhi throughout the rest of Iltutmish's reign.

WARS AGAINST THE RAJPUTS (1226-1234):

Reference has already been made to the rebellion of Rajputs. Upto 1225, Iltutmish was too busy with the problems of the north-western frontier. He had also to reduce to submission the Turkish nobles of the East. Therefore upto that time he did not make war against any powerful Rajput Rana and confined his activities merely to suppressing the Hindu chiefs of Doab and Awadh. Now he turned his attention towards the southern frontier. The Chauhans had acquired great power in Rajputana so that Udaysingh of Jalor and Ballandeva of Ranthambhor were able to impose their suzerainty on the neighbouring chiefs. In Central India and Bundelkhand Parihars and Chandelas had also made successful counter-attacks and besides holding Gwalior and Kalinjar had considerably weakened the hold of the Turks even in Bayana, Ajmer and Tahangarh regions.

Iltutmish first attacked Ranthambhor and captured it in 1226. In 1227 he occupied Mandor and by 1230 his authority was firmly established over Jalor, Ajmer, Bayana, Tahangarh and Sambhar also. But the Solankis of Gujerat and the Guhilotas of Nagda beat back his armies and retained their independent status.

In 1231, Iltutmish laid siege to Gwalior. The ruler, Mangaldeva or Malayavarmadeva carried on a defensive war with great vigour and confidence. But when Iltutmish continued to press the siege even after more than a year had passed, Mangaladeva realized the hopelessness of further defence and left the fort. It soon fell into the hands of the Sultan who appointed Rashiduddin as its governor.

Besides these conquests, Iltutmish sent his armies against the Chandelas in 1233 and towards Bhilsa and Ujjain in 1234-35. But he did not meet with much success in these regions. Only, a few towns were plundered and the local population was overawed by the power of the Turks but it had no effect on the frontiers of the empire.

Considerable fighting had to be done also against the Rajputs of Katehar, Doab, Awadh and Bihar, but the details have not come to us. This however is known that Iltutmish forced them to pay regular tribute, occupied some of their principal forts, and annexing the adjoining villages settled Turkish soldiers there so that they might nip all future rising in the bud. In order to keep them alert and watchful he assigned these villages to them in lieu of salary. This arrangement proved very useful and Rajputs revolts in these regions practically came to an end.

IMPORTANCE OF HIS WARS:

The foregoing review of the military activities of the Sultan shows that in the circumstances in which he was placed, his achievement was praiseworthy. When he became the ruler there was every danger of disintegration of the Sultanate. His authority was not universally recognized even inside the capital. Foreign enemies and internal rebels had their eye on the capital itself. In such a state of affairs, Iltutmish acted with great fortitude, courage and farsight. The course of his conquests was not very rapid but when he did send an army in any particular region, it was almost invariably successful. Gradually, he recovered all the territory which had at one time formed a part of Muizuddin's empire. He also made some additions to it towards the south. What is still more important is the fact that he considerably reduced the power of Rajput chiefs in the conquered territory and made them realize that the Turkish empire had come to stay. Aibak had not interfered much in the internal affairs of Bengal and Sindh and had been content merely with securing a recognition of his suzerainty. Therefore a sense of freedom did not die out. Iltutmish appointed his personal followers as governors in these regions and reduced the possibility of their rebellion by curtailing their powers.

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY:

Before the time of Iltutmish, it had not been possible to pay adequate attention to the organisation of the Turkish state in India. The government was essentially military in character. Important forts were occupied and strongly garrisoned and it was expected of every military commander that he would realise annual tribute from the local Hindu chiefs and landlords by a show of superior military force. He also raided hostile territory and tried to add to the number of tributary chiefs. The Turks had so far established practically no contact with the rural masses. This arrangement suffered from many drawbacks. It was difficult for a sense of loyalty to develop among the masses. The Hindu Rajas and chiefs remembering their former status and regarding the Turks far inferior in culture and civilisation were always on the look-out to flout their authority and to stop paying tribute. The rule of the Turks was thus essentially based on military strength. That is why there was a violent outburst of revolts immediately after the deaths of Muizuddin and Qutbuddin. Iltutmish adopted a number of measures to improve this state of affairs and to give comparative stability to the government of the Turks.

Iltutmish realised that the first thing necessary in this regard was that the status and dignity of the sovereign should be beyond challenge by anybody. Immediately after his accession he had felt that many Qutbi and Muizzi amirs were unwilling to accept his suzerainty. He therefore concluded that implicit obedience of subordinate officers could be secured only when almost all the high offices were given to his own creatures or favourites. He therefore organised a corps of forty slaves and distributed all high offices among them. Hostile or disaffected Qutbi and Muizzi amirs were killed in battle or dismissed from office. This made other nobles submissive to the Sultan. Rapid promotions of the 'Forty' impressed on their minds the need for similar devotion and loyalty or else they too might lose their jobs. Thus he enhanced the prestige of the Sultan by organising a new order of nobility. We shall have occasion to notice that throughout the period prior to the coming of the Timurids a new class of nobles came into prominence with every change of dynasty and sometimes even of a powerful ruler and that the older nobility was assigned lower posts either in a body or by gradual instalments. This was initiated by Iltutmish for the first time. To impart greater stability to the state, Iltutmish made his selection of able persons even from foreigners and local inhabitants. Thus Minhaj-us-siraj was appointed chief Qazi and Sadr-i-jahan while Fakhr-ul-mulk Isami was offered the wazirship. Minhaj was a highly learned scholar while Isami had been the *wazir* of the caliph for thirty years.

Another important measure of Iltutmish was the settlement of Turks in those hilly and forest-infested tracts which were particularly disaffected. A reference has already been made to such settlements in the Doab and Khokhar land.

Thirdly, he made adequate provision for justice. Ibn Batuta says that there were statues of two lions on palace gate bearing chains in their mouths which when pulled rang a bell at the other end. When any aggrieved person pulled the chain he received prompt attention at the hands of royal officers deputed for the purpose. This was meant particularly for the night. During the day, use of red garment was enough to indicate a plaintiff. The Sultan had made provision for prompt redress of their grievances. Even if these were mere stories, they do indicate that the Sultan was anxious to establish a just government. He appointed *amir-dads* in all important towns while at Delhi there were a number of *qazis*. The chief *Qazi* and the Sultan heard appeals from lower courts and tried to regulate and organise their work.

Iltutmish also issued a purely Arabic coin called the tanka weighing 175 grains, to replace the former Hindu coins. There were both gold and silver issues. The issue of these coins was another means of impressing the common man that the new administration had acquired stability and strength.

The last and perhaps the most notable step taken by him was to secure a letter of investiture from the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustansir Billah. Impressed by his victories, the Caliph recognised him as the Sultan of Delhi and conferred on him the title of *Nasir-amir-ul-mominin* (i. e. helper of the leader of the faithful). His title to sovereignty now acquired a legal basis and all those who had cast aspersions on his family or former status were silenced. Thus was initiated a fully sovereign and legally constituted sultanate of Delhi. This enhanced the prestige of the Sultan and because he was the first legal sovereign, he has been described as the real founder of the Sultanate of Delhi.

DEATH OF ILTUTMISH (1236):

In matters religious, Iltutmish had Sunni leanings. A majority of the Turks and Indian Muslims were Sunnis. Thus both conviction and prudence demanded that he should make Sunnism the state religion. In order to strengthen his position Iltutmish tried to secure full cooperation of the theologians by giving them a long rope. But they misused their power to oppress their opponents. This made the Shias hostile to the state. One of their sub-sects was called the Ismailias. Wishing to capture power by a bloody revolution, they tried to murder Iltutmish while he was at his prayers. Luckily he escaped alive and all the conspirators were captured and executed.

This took place sometime in or about 1235. Shortly after this, Iltutmish planned a fresh offensive against the Khokhars but he fell ill on the way and was obliged to return to Delhi where he died a few days later.

CHARACTER AND ESTIMATE:

The exterior of Iltutmish was as charming and handsome as he was inwardly generous and large-hearted. He was so kind and sympathetic to the poor and the distressed that numerous stories of his beneficence got currency and have been recorded by contemporary chroniclers. Iltutmish was neither a great militarist nor a great administrator. But in the circumstances in which he acquired power, his achievements both in peace and war are worthy of respect. Sir Wolseley Haig underrates his achievement in relation to that of Aibak but even he has to admit that while Aibak was aided by Muizuddin, Iltutmish had to depend entirely on his own resources. He consolidated the empire of Aibak by reconquering all that had ever belonged to it and rounded off the frontiers by annexations here and there. He then gave the empire a system of government which though not faultless was definitely better than what had existed before. His name and fame travelled abroad so that not only the Caliph honoured him but the dispossessed rulers of Central Asia also sought shelter with him. He must enjoy a place of honour among the empire-builders of the thirteenth century and deserves credit for consolidating newly founded Sultanate of Delhi.

SUCCESSORS OF ILTUTMISH:

Iltutmish was conscious of the complications caused by an indefinite law of succession. He wanted to save, if possible, the infant Sultanate of Delhi from this grievous danger for a civil war among rival candidates for the throne might jeopardise the very existence of the Sultanate. He knew fully well what had happened after Aibak's death. He therefore wanted to nominate his successor in his own life-time and train him in the affairs of government. He also intended securing for him approval of the nobility, the *ulema* and the people in general. This would not only strengthen the roots of his own dynasty but add to the vigour and vitality of the Sultanate itself. He, therefore, consecutively appointed his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud governor of Lahore, Awadh and Bengal. The prince gave a good account of himself in each one of these provinces and by his good government and strong military measures weakened the power of the local Hindu chiefs and won the confidence and support of the people. But the irony of fate was that just when Iltutmish was celebtating recognition of his title by the Caliph, he was shocked to hear the tragic news of the death of his promising and popular successor.

This came as a very cruel blow to Iltutmish for although he had other sons as well but none of them was fit for the kingly office. The eldest among the survivors was Ruknuddin who was indolent, feeble-minded and given to sensual pleasures. Iltutmish tried in vain to correct him by appointing him as the governor of Lahore and Badaun. He could not develop a sense of responsibility and the nobles became conscious of his failings. Now Iltutmish thought of leaving the throne to his daughter Raziya. He provided her with an opportunity to assist in the administration of the Central Government. Raziya acquitted herself with great credit so that in 1231-1232 when the Sultan was absent on the Gwalior campaign, she was left in charge of the government at Delhi. At this time she gave evidence of such intelligence and ability that on his return Iltutmish decided to supersede all his sons and to nominate her as his successor to the throne. A *farman*, proclaiming Raziya as heir-apparent, was drafted.

Minhaj says that a number of Turkish nobles opposed this move as improper and derogatory to their pride. They expressed their opposition in the open court. Thereupon Iltutmish made reply that he knew that Raziya would make a better Sultan than his sons. This silenced the nobles but they never really approved the plan in their heart of hearts.

RUKNUDDIN FIRUZ (1236):

Consequently, on Iltutmish's death they crowned Ruknuddin as the next sovereign. Between 1232-1236, either his conduct had shown definite signs of improvement or the nobles had strongly pressed his claims. Hence Iltutmish took him to Delhi from Lahore in 1236. But before he could formally announce a change in succession in favour of Ruknuddin, he suddenly died. Ruknuddin was elected Sultan with the support of the Wazir and the provincial governors and he formally ascended the throne forthwith.

Shah Turkan, the mother of Ruknuddin had been a maid-servant before she was elevated to the rank of a queen. She was now the Queen Mother. She had always been treated as base and inferior by her co-wives. She had now got a chance to feed fat the ancient grudge. To Ruknuddin sovereignty appeared a means of satiating his baser appetites and he plunged headlong into that agreeable pursuit. The unpleasant task of government was left to the care of his mother. The latter consumed by jealousy and envy maltreated her co-wives and their progeny. This led to opposition. The Forty felt that for preserving the dynasty and good name of their master Ruknuddin must be deposed. The governors of Lahore, Multan, Hansi and Badaun collected their forces and marched upon the capital. Junaidi the Wazir also joined them and when Ruknuddin marched against them, his own troops deserted to the enemy. Firuz returned post haste to Delhi only to find that a bloodless revolution had already taken place.

When the people were collecting for the midday *namaz* of Friday, Raziya suddently appeared dressed in red and besought the people to do justice by her. She delivered a powerful speech and swayed their emotions by narrating how the throne should have really gone to her according to her father's will. She gave a graphic account of the atrocities of Turkan and made a dramatic appeal to the people to exercise their right of choosing the sovereign, of carrying out the last wishes of their popular monarch and of putting an end to the atrocities of Turkan. She concluded by solemnly affirming that if she did not prove worthy of their trust and devotion she would willingly embrace death as a penalty. The people were moved by her words to great excitement. They attacked the palace, threw Turkan into prison and raised Raziya to the throne. It was after this that Ruknuddin returned to the capital. He was immediately arrested and confined in prison where he soon died. Thus the rule of Turkan and her son came to an end within less than seven months.

PROBLEMS BEFORE RAZIYA (1236-1240):

Raziya had got the throne no doubt but it was a crown of thorns that had been placed on her head. Far bolder spirits might well have been dismayed by the difficulties that bristled all round her. Her supporters consisted of a few rebel military leaders and the common citizens of Delhi. Junaidi and other rebel chiefs who were anxious to replace Ruknuddin by a person of their choice would never submit to assumption of power by her. They could gain adherents among other provincial governors also. This was one serious problem. In the second place a number of Iltutmish's sons were still alive and they had their supporters both among the nobles and the people of Delhi. Thirdly, Rajputs had started the offensive again and were laying siege to Ranthambhor. Then there were people to whom Raziya was unacceptable simply because she had been born a woman. The new sovereign must suppress all such oppenents and rehabilitate the dignity and power of her royal office. Besides by her tact, wisdom, diplomatic skill, industry and martial valour, she must prove her greater worthiness for the royal office than even men.

HER POLICY:

The governors of Multan, Hansi, Lahore and Badaun joined by Junaidi, the Wazir encamped their troops near Delhi. Raziya did not possess adequate forces to engage them in an open conflict. But she could not shut herself inside the fort because failure to pick the gauntlet thrown by the enemy would be tantamount to defeat. She therefore led her forces out of the fort but tried to gain her end by diplomacy rather than by war. Exploiting the mutual jealousy of the rebel chiefs she won over Izuddin Salari and Kabir Khan to her side and then gave wide publicity to the fact that a number of rebel chiefs had joined her and had promised to bring others in chains before her. This caused such distrust and dismay among the rebels that each one of them fled for his own safety without reference to anyone else. Raziya now took the offensive against the erstwhile allies of Salari and Kabir Khan. One of them was killed in battle, another was captured and soon beheaded while the third and the last, Wazir Junaidi escaped alive but died in obscurity in the Sirmur hills. The prestige of Raziya suddenly went up with a bounce and all provincial governors were so overawed that they willingly submitted to her authority and agreed to pay annual tribute.

Raziya next took a number of steps to enhance the prestige of the sovereign. Muhazzabuddin, the *Naib Wazir* was given the *Wazarat*. The Jagirs of Kabir Khan and Salari were increased. In order to break the monopoly of Turks to high office and to make them dependent on her will she offered some of the higher posts to non-Turkish Muslims. One such was Jamaluddin Yaqut, an Abyssinian. He was appointed *Amir Akhur*. Malik Hasan Ghori was given command over the army. She also organised an offensive against the Rajputs of Ranthambhor and having captured the fort got it razed to the ground lest it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs again and be a source of accession of strength to them. She abandoned *purdah*, held open court, listened to grievances of her subjects and exercised general supervision over the work of every department. She impressed everybody by her ability, love of justice, recognition of merit and capacity for hard work.

Opposition to Raziya:

There was a section of the people however which could never bear the idea of a woman being the head of the state. Others felt unhappy because she would not allow them as much latitude as they desired. Others still started a whispering campaign against her because she had shown some favour to Jamaluddin Yaqut. They went to the length of suggesting that they might soon marry. There were some Ismailias in Delhi. They had been foiled in their attempt at seizing power by force in the days of her father. They made another attempt against Raziya but were suppressed. In 1238, Ziyauddin Junaidi governor of Gwalior was summoned to court because he was suspected of preparing for rebellion. After his visit to the court he was heard of no more. This had very unfavourable repercussions. Suspicion gained ground that the Queen had got him treacherously murdered. It was even rumoured abroad that although personally innocent his being a relative of Junaidi, the Wazir was in itself an unpardonable offence. Raziya was thus charged with organising political murders on mere suspicion. The result was that all those who feared being suspects in the eyes of the Queen became apprehensive about their security and became political rebels. Some provincial governors became hostile and engaged themselves in conspiracy because they thought that the Queen would annihilate all the Shamsi nobles. Ayaz, the governor of Multan and Lahore rebelled in 1239 merely because the intimacy between Raziya and Yaqut appeared to him derogatory to the pride of the Turks. Raziya defeated him in battle and when he apologised for his conduct restored him at Multan but deprived him of Lahore. Just then Saifuddin, a fugitive chief from Ghazni, attacked Multan and drove out Ayaz from there also, so that he was now without any jagir at all. This also added to the discontent of the nobles who thought that the Queen had connived at the discomfiture of Ayaz.

Deposition of Raziya:

The Turkish nobles now formed a plan of an organised resistance. They wanted to weaken royalty permanently vis-a-vis the nobility. The leader of this conspiracy was Aitigin who had risen from the office of the governor of Badaun to be the *Mir Hajib* at Delhi. Aitigin felt that no large-scale rising was possible in Delhi as long as the Queen was present there. Nor was it possible to murder her because of her precautionary measures. No was there any guarantee of success even if the provincial governors combined to lay siege to Delhi. The plans were therefore laid out with great care. Altuniya the governor of Bhatinda first raised the standard of revolt. Raziya immediately proceeded against him at the head of an army. Aitigin and his fellow-conspirators captured Yaqut and killed him and then made common cause with Altuniya to defeat and capture Raziya. She was entrusted to the care of Altuniya and the rest of the nobles returned to the capital.

Bahram, the third son of Iltutmish had already been elevated to the throne on the news of Raziya's imprisonment reaching the capital. The populace of Delhi, though overwhelmingly in favour of Raziya, could offer no resistance because there was none to lead it. The nobles returning from Bhatinda recognised Bahram as the Sultan which made his position comparatively strong. He assumed the style of Muizuddin and ruled from 1240 to 1242.

DEATH OF RAZIYA (1240):

Bahram had got the throne no doubt but he never enjoyed the substance of power. Before his accession, he had to agree to all the terms proposed by the nobles. Muhazzabuddin continued as *wazir* but Aitigin was appointed *Naib-i-Mumlikat* and was probably given full powers of government for a year. Other rebel leaders were also suitably rewarded. But Altuniya did not figure anywhere in the division of loaves and fishes of office. Being absent from Delhi, nobody seemed to have remembered him.

This arrangement had made Bahram a puppet in the hands of the nobles. His other great worry was Raziya who was still alive and whose supporters could not be altogether wiped out. Were he to protest against his constitutional position, he might be replaced by some more pliant member of the royal family. The Sultan was not happy about it. He wished to be a king in fact. He therefore had Aitigin murdered. The latter had dissatisfied everybody by his vain-glorious manners to such an extent that his death shocked nobody. The Sultan wanted to keep the post of *Naib-i-mumlikat* vacant and to play the Sultan himself. In the mean time Altuniya succumbed to the charms and intelligence of Raziya and married her. He now tried to seize Delhi on behalf of his wife and sovereign. But he was defeated and they were both killed by Hindus while escaping in disguise.

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PERSONALITY OF RAZIYA:

Raziya occupies a remarkable place among the thirteenth century Turkish rulers of India. Among the successors of Iltutmish she was by far the ablest and the most worthy of the office of the sovereign. She made considerable amends for the disorders of the reign of Ruknuddin and despite fierce opposition consolidated her position by her tact and ability. Had she been born a man she would have been a much greater success because in that case there would neither have been opposition by the *wazir* and other nobles nor could there be scope for conspiracy on grounds of suspected intimacy with Yaqut. She had reduced the power of the Turks and was carefully building up an alternative group but her reign was suddenly cut short. Her success, therefore, was only partial. Upto 1238, she succeeded almost in every undertaking but since 1239, opposition began to gain momentum and she failed to overcome it. Various factors contributed to her failure. Mediaeval historians ascribe it principally to her sex. But an equally or more important reason was the selfishness and strength of the nobility. The Sultans of those days could never count on the support of the masses who regarded them as aliens and followers of a different faith. Raziya was able to strengthen her hands a little by roping in the support of the people of Delhi. There were a number of sons of Iltutmish still living and they could be used as pawns by self-seeking nobles for acquiring more and more power without incurring the odium of supplanting the dynasty of their master. Besides, the control of the Centre over the local units was still far from complete. The Turkish state, was still in its infancy and resistance by the Hindus was persistent and powerful. The Sultans had therefore to allow wide military and financial powers to their governors. If a number of them combined against the central authority, they often became too powerful for the Sultan. There was a lot of confusion and disorder because of the above-mentioned factors till the accession of Balban and the power of the Sultans of the intervening period was generally weak.

MUIZUDDIN BAHRAMSHAH (1240-1242):

There was no peace during Bahram's reign of two years. He was desirous of enjoying the substance of power but the nobles had become so powerful and his personal competance was so low that he remained a puppet all his life for as soon as he escaped the tutelage of one noble another grabbed all power. In this struggle for independence, he finally fell a victim to a conspiracy and was killed.

First of all Aitigin acquired all power. The Sultan tried to have him and the *wazir* murdered. While the former was killed the latter escaped alive and took a vow to avenge himself on the king but outwardly maintained a show of utter devotion to him. Badr-ud-din Sunqar was appointed *Mir Hajib* in place of Aitigin and he tried to grab the power that his predecessor had exercised. Fearing to be murdered by the Sultan he tried to forestall him and took other nobles of Delhi also into confidence. An assembly of the nobles was convened to finalise the details of Bahram's deposition. This was attended also by Sadr-ul-mulk, the chief ecclesiastic of the state. He was deputed to bring the *wazir* with him. But the *wazir* being jealous of Sunqar turned approver. The Sultan made a sudden attack and all the conspirators were caught red-handed. As a body, they were so powerful that the Sultan could take no steps against them except to transfer them to different places. Sunqar was sent to Badaun but when he returned to Delhi without permission he was executed. The fall of Sunqar made the *wazir* all-powerful. He was deliberating how best to wreak vengeance against the Sultan when an excellent opportunity offered itself.

In 1241, the Mongols captured Lahore, plundered the city and put thousands of Muslims to the sword. This threatened the very existence of the Sultanate. The Turkish nobles knew that their self-interest demanded that the Sultanate should continue. Hence they agreed to put up a joint defence againt the invaders not because of loyalty to the Sultan but in their own self-interest. The *wazir* also accompanied them. From the way, he sent a message to the Sultan that the nobles were too disaffected to be ever loyal to him. If therefore the Sultan sent the necessary *farman* he would get them all murdered. The Sultan unsuspectingly sent the necessary *farman*. The *wazir* now called a meeting of all the nobles and read out the *farman* in their presence. It had the desired effect and they all concurred that Bahram must be deposed. They all returned and laid siege to Delhi. The Sultan put up a defence and the siege dragged on for three months. All attempts at compromise were foiled by the *wazir* who created a division inside the capital itself by heavily bribing some of the leading theologians. The rebels were now able to force their entry into the capital. The Sultan was captured and thrown into prison where he was later put to death. Bahram's reign of two years thus came to a tragic end.

ALAUDDIN MASUDSHAH (1242-1246):

On the deposition of Bahram, Izuddin Kishlu Khan declared himself the Sultan. He was a competent general and an able administrator. But the nobles were unwilling to submit to one of themselves. Besides they did not want a competent person to be the Sultan. Hence they opposed the move of Kishlu Khan and placed Masud, a son of Ruknuddin on the throne under the style of Alauddin Masud Shah. They did two things to safeguard their position. They put into prison the two surviving sons of Iltutmish viz., Nasiruddin and Jalaluddin so that there may be no rivals that may be used by ambitious people. In the second place, they distributed all high offices among themselves in such a manner that the king should have little scope for autocracy. Qutbuddin Hasan was appointed the *vakil*, Nizamul-mulk Muhazzabuddin retained the *wazir-ship*, Qaraqash became *Amir Hajib* while Kishlu Khan got the districts of Nagor, Ajmer and Mandawar in jagir.

In Masud's reign, the *wazir* acquired great ascendancy but as soon as he tried to secure pre-eminence by curbing the power of other nobles opposition grew and he was murdered within five months of the Sultan's accession. He was replaced by Abu Bakr who was comparatively a man of mild disposition. This allowed Masud also a little more elbow room. To curry favour with the people he released his uncles from prison and appointed Nasiruddin as the governor of Bahraich while Jalaluddin was assigned Kanauj.

DEPOSITION OF MASUD:

Masud gained great popularity in Delhi and its environs. But he was unable to arrest the disintegrating forces. Since the death of Raziya, governors of distant provinces had begun to behave as if they were virtually independent. In the days of Masud, this became particularly noticeable. Tamar Khan, the governor of Bengal made peace and war at will and collected a huge treasure. Ayaz, the governor of Multan ultimately succeeded in defending himself against the Mongols and the Qarlughs even without securing any aid from the centre. He therefore became defiant of Delhi. The Khokhars occupied a large part of the Punjab while the Rajput chiefs were particularly active in Katehar and Bihar and succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom in Bihar.

All this showed that Masud also would not be able to control the situation. Because of the influence of Kishlu Khan and his friends, Qaraqash was replaced by Balban as *Amir Hajib*. It was he who later became the Sultan under the style of Ghiyasuddin. Balban was a relative of Kishlu Khan and was one of the Forty. He had secured high office even under Raziya and Bahram but it was under Masud for the first time that he got a place of eminence. He was very ambitious. He secretly organised a conspiracy in favour of Nasiruddin. In 1245, there was a Mongol invasion. Balban exploited it to his own ends and although the Sultan gained credit for defeating the Mongols, he was himself deposed soon after. Nasiruddin was brought to Delhi disguised as a woman, a rising took place in his favour and Masud was deposed and killed. Balban placed Nasiruddin on the throne and the nobility approved the change.

NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD (1246-1266):

Numerous stories have come down to us which speak of Nasiruddin's simplicity, generosity, thrift and devotion to his faith. But they are not historical. May be Nasiruddin was more moral and catholic in his faith than most of his high-born contemporaries. Similarly the tradition that he took no interest in matters of state and that the real ruler during his reign was Ulugh Khan Balban is also unsupported by facts of history. An analytical study of the events of his reign clearly shows that at best upto 1255 he had a great share in the business of state. We have no detailed account of his last ten years but a comparison with the policy of Balban as the ruler shows that even during this period the influence of the Sultan could not have been negligible.

Minhaj-us-siraj says that as a governor of Bahraich he waged many wars against the local

Hindu chiefs and he established such peace and security by his wise measures of government that the people became happy and prosperous. His fame as a conqueror and a successful ruler became so widespread that the Maliks and Amirs who wanted to get rid of Masud secretly invited him to accept the crown of Delhi. He came to Delhi in the guise of a woman. This shows that he was not only ambitious but resourceful too. On his arrival in Delhi, he was unanimously elevated to the throne. All this suggests that he did possess some intrinsic merit and that he was no mere copyist of the Quran.

Being acquainted with the record of the nobility during the last ten years he abstained from offering the post of the *Vakil* or the Naib-i-Mumlikat to anybody without adequate forethought. He allowed Ulugh Khan and Abu Bakr to retain their old offices and made little or no change in respect of others. Having watched their conduct for full three years, the Sultan offered the *vakilship* to the ablest among them. Even after this he did not resign all powers in his hands. That is why in 1253 he could confidently send away the same *vakil* as the governor of Hansi. When the new *vakil* proved unworthy a hostile military demonstration was made not against the Sultan but against his *vakil* and the Sultan was strong enough to dismiss him from his office, send him away as governor of Badaun and restore the old *vakil* to his former dignity. Similarly the Sultan always accompanied Balban during the earlier military campaigns and guided and controlled the measures adopted. Balban was unable to grind down the Mewatis and the Katehris as ruthlessly as he did later as the Sultan only because Nasiruddin would not tolerate it. It is therefore obvious that unlike his predecessors, Nasiruddin was a no mere puppet but a ruler in fact. Ferishta says that he was qualified to adorn the throne of his father not only because of his birth but also 'on account of his bravery, wisdom and learning, together with his many other good qualities.' He ruled for twenty years not by the grace of Balban but by his own merits and the latter remained his servant and not his master. When Balban later acquired sovereignty, he ruled with great success. So the credit for the success of Nasiruddin has also been ascribed to him. The cause of this error was probably the statement of Iltutmish regarding the incompetence of all his sons. But it loses sight of the fact that between 1232-1236 Nasiruddin was too young to be considered for the throne. Nasiruddin gave proof of his ability when he grew up. Consequently, he was raised to the throne and during his long reign he exhibited no weakness that might lead to his deposition. It could be thought of in 1255 and his brother Jalaluddin was counting upon this to be raised to the throne. But the rebel chiefs dared not defy the authority of the Sultan. This is a proof of the fact that Nasiruddin was a competent ruler who exercised real power of directing the government.

His Problems:

Nasiruddin had three main problems. With the death of Iltutmish the power of the nobles had gone out of bounds. Self-interest and mutual jealousy had divided them into numerous groups each one of which wanted to monopolise all the highest posts in the state by eliminating its rivals. The revolutions that preceded the accession of Nasiruddin were primarily the outcome of bitter rivalries between the nobles. Nasiruddin must keep the nobles in check or else he too would shortly lose his life and crown. Next, there were Mongol invaders who subjected the people of frontier regions to great hardships and who must be rolled back or else they would roll up the Sultanate of Delhi itself. Thirdly, there were Rajput chiefs who started raiding the Sultanate at the earliest opportunity and withheld payment of taxes. They had become so bold that they plundered not only the environs of Delhi but the capital itself. Further extension in their power might sound the very death-knell of the newly founded Turkish Sultanate. Nasiruddin solved all these problems with considerable success.

RELATIONS WITH THE NOBLES:

Nasiruddin made earlier appointments in such wise as would prevent any group or individual getting unduly powerful. But when he found Balban to be really able and faithful he gave him his full confidence and tried to suppress the nobility in general with the aid of his group. In 1249-1250 he married his daughter and appointed him as Naib-Sultan. He conferred on him full powers subject to two conditions viz. (1) he should do nothing for which he could not answer before Allah nor (2) anything that might compromise the dignity of the sovereign. On Balban's advice he appointed Sher Khan Sunqar as the warden of the marches on the north-western frontier and assigned to him the districts of Bhatinda and Lahore. Another kinsman of Balban was Kishlu Khan, the governor of Nagor. Abu Bakr, the *wazir* also accepted the leadership of Balban. Thus the Balbanid group acquired supremacy for the time being.

LAKHNAUTI:

But there were some regions where disaffection among the nobles could not be completely overcome. Lakhnauti was the most notorious for this. During the twenty years of the Sultan's rule seven or eight people ruled over there and among them Toghan, Yuzbak Tughril Khan and Aslam Khan disregarded the authority of Delhi almost in toto. The authority of Delhi over Lakhnauti was generally confined to short intervals when the rulers there got entangled in wars with their neighbours. It may broadly be stated that Lakhnauti was ruled during this period by independent or semi-independent chiefs and Nasiruddin's other preoccupations never gave him the chance to establish his supremacy there on a permanent basis.

DOAB:

Another storm-centre was the Doab. Most of the trouble here centred round Hindu chiefs but the Turkish nobility also created some disturbance. The most notable name in this connection is that of Jalaluddin a brother of the Sultan and the governor of Kanauj. He had counselled the Sultan in 1248 to dismiss Balban because his rising power might constitute a danger to the ruling dynasty. But when this gratuitous advice was not only disregarded but Balban was raised to the dignity of the Deputy Sultan and father-in-law of the sovereign, Jalal became apprehensive about his security, fled to the Mongols in Turkistan and dreamed of returning as the Sultan of Delhi with their assistance. He returned to India in 1255 with high hopes. But when Nasiruddin's position on the throne remained unshaken he was sorely disappointed. The Sultan, however, graciously allowed him to retain Lahore and he created no further trouble.

NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER:

The defence of the north-western frontier—another disturbed area—had been assigned principally to Sher Khan. He got Ikhtiyaruddin Quraiz appointed to Multan and Uchh probably after the death of Ayaz. In 1250-51, Kishlu Khan the fief-holder of Nagor applied for the assignment of Uchh and Multan to him. The Sultan sent a *farman* sanctioning exchange of places between Kishlu Khan and Quraiz. Copies were forwarded to Quraiz and Sher Khan also. Kishlu Khan forcibly seized Multan and Uchh without handing over Nagor to Quraiz. This offended Sher Khan who started preparations to push him out of Multan. In the meantime, Qarlughs attacked and captured Multan. Sher Khan desisted from going to the assistance of Kishlu Khan which it was his duty as Warden of the marches to do. Instead, he first remained in-active and then drove out the Qarlughs and restored Quraiz at Multan. The Sultan realized that the Qarlugh interlude was entirely the outcome of Kishlu Khan's disregard of royal orders. He therefore went to Nagor and enforced Kishlu Khan's transfer to Badaun.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST BALBAN:

Both Kishlu Khan and Sher Khan were related to Balban and both in a sense were guilty of insubordination. And yet neither of them got any punishment. This was exploited by the enemies of Balban to organise a conspiracy against him. The leading conspirators were Imaduddin Raihan (a converted eunuch), the Queen Mother, Qutlugh Khan, Kishlu Khan and Arslan Khan. They represented to the Sultan that Sher Khan's conduct merited punishment and that it was desirable to curb the power of Balban. There was some truth in their standpoint. Hence the Sultan accompanied by Balban proceeded against Sher Khan. Raihan, Arslan Khan and their fellow conspirators also joined the retinue of the Sultan. They made an unsuccessful attempt to murder Balban. They suggested that Balban had become suspicious he should therefore be dismissed from his post of Naib which incidentally would test his loyalty to the Sultan and Sher Khan should be replaced by Arslan Khan. Sher Khan had already been frightened away and was fraternising with the Mongols.

The Sultan therefore appointed Arslan Khan in his place and Balban was sent away as governor of Hansi. Raihan was appointed *vakil-i-dar* and he succeeded to the position of Balban as the premier nobleman. This completed the revolution of 1253. The Sultan was now free to return to Delhi.

RESTORATION OF BALBAN:

Raihan tried to break the domination of the Turks and to enhance the prestige and authority of the Central government. He therefore organised a new group of neo-Muslims and started replacing Turkish nobles by them. He also became exceedingly vain and proud. This made enemies even of his friends and opposition began to mount up. Balban took advantage of this to organise the Turkish bloc secretly and started preparations to remove Raihan by force. Jalaluddin and Sher Khan were invited back from the Mongol camp and Arslan Khan was also induced to join this group. Their combined forces proceeded towards Delhi. Enemies of Raihan poured in to join the ranks of the Turkish bloc. This by no means unnerved the Sultan who led his forces out and contacted the rebels at Samana. The rebels sent word to the Sultan that they had no ill-will against him and they would take the oath of allegiance once again if the wicked Raihan was dismissed and Balban was restored to his former dignity. Raihan advised the Sultan to meet force with force. But the Sultan overruled him and with a view to restore peace in the realm he sent Raihan away as the governor of Badaun and called back Balban to his former post. On Balban's advice, Lahore was assigned to Jalaluddin while Arslan Khan was appointed to govern Kara-Manikpur. Thus in 1255 a furious civil war was averted and the trusted Balban was again the right hand man of the Sultan.

OTHER REVOLTS (1255-1258):

Between 1255-1258, the enemies of Balban rebelled in many regions which caused grievous loss to the State. The ringleaders were Raihan, Kishlu Khan and Qutlugh Khan. Balban wanted to keep the leaders of conspirators at a safe distance from Delhi so that they might have no chance to repeat the experiment. He therefore transferred Raihan from Badaun to Bahraich and Qutlugh Khan along with his new wife (the Queen Mother) was sent away to Awadh. The chief grievance of Kishlu Khan was his removal from Multan and Uchh. He was sent there. Raihan was the first to initiate trouble and because Qutlugh Khan was near at hand his designs were promptly seconded. But when an army was sent against him he was defeated and killed (1256).

As Qutlugh also had a hand in this, he was transferred from Awadh to Bahraich. But he refused compliance with the royal order and defeated the royal agent in battle. Now Balban went to Awadh himself. Qutlugh Khan fled into the Himalayan Tarai region, was given a hot chase but managed to escape to a safe place. Finding no definite clue about his place of hiding, Balban retired to Delhi. Qutlugh soon returned, reoccupied Awadh and attacked Kara Manikpur. Being defeated he took to flight again, closely followed by Balban. He sought shelter with Ranpala, Raja of Santaurgarh in the Sirmur hills who refused to surrender him even in the face of Balban's ruthless sack of his territory (1257).

Next the Sultan and his Deputy had to face an extremely dangerous situation. Jalaluddin, the governor of Lahore had once been a fugitive at the Mongol camp. Being disappointed at not being elevated to the throne he preferred the goodwill of the Mongols to vassalage of the Sultan of Delhi. Kishlu Khan, the governor of Multan and Uchh had once been baulked of his ambition to capture the throne. He could not tolerate the ascendancy of Balban. Mongol pressure on his fief was increasing. He feared losing it once again in case Balban out of secret enmity did not help him in time against the Mongols. He therefore offered submission to Halagu the Mongol ruler of Persia and sent one of his grandsons as a hostage to his court. Having secured his position from the West, he now decided to avenge himself on Balban. Proceeding along the Beas at the head of his army he entered the Tarain region and forming a junction with Qutlugh Khan proceeded against the capital. They counted some *ulema* and nobles among their supporters even inside the capital. As soon as Balban proceeded towards Samana to check the rebel army, their allies inside the capital advised them to elude Balban and to come post haste to Delhi whose gates they would open to them. Kishlu Khan reached very close to Delhi. But Balban had in the meantime learnt about the treasonable designs of the rebels inside the capital and he advised the Sultan to expel them from Delhi. On getting this message, the Sultan sent them away to their Jagirs and he tightened security measures. Balban also returned to Delhi by forced marches. The rebels got unnerved and fled. Kishlu Khan now sought Mongol aid who promptly sent in a large army. Balban was therefore prevented from occupying Multan and Uchh. But Isami says that a few years after 1258 Balban captured Multan. Kishlu Khan tried to recapture it with Mongol assistance but in vain. This should have happened sometime between 1260 and 1266. In 1266, Sher Khan Sunqar held Bhatinda, Bhatner, Samana and Sunnam and he had been in the Delhi, Gwalior, Bayana regions between 1255 and 1260. This suggests that Sher Khan was appointed governor of the north-western region in succession to Kishlu Khan—who must have been removed between 1260 and 1266. Thus practically the whole of the reign was disturbed by the revolts of the Turkish nobility and the Sultan and Balban moved very warily in putting them down.

MONGOL POLICY OF THE SULTAN:

Defence of the north-western frontier constituted the next serious problem. It had begun to assume alarming proportions from the time of Iltutmish himself. Yaldoz, Jalaluddin Mungbarani and the Mongols had tried in succession to make Ghazni their base of operations for capturing the Punjab and the lands lying further to the east. Iltutmish was unequal to the task of suppressing any of them. Favourable circumstances had come to his rescue each time. Yaldoz could be defeated so easily only because he had been weakened by the Shah of Khwarizm. Jalaluddin Mungbarani remained in the Punjab for about three years and Iltutmish could heave a sigh of relief only when he left India for good. Mongols came to India not with a view to conquer but to destroy the power of Jalaluddin root and branch. It was only to facilitate their victory over Jalal that they had sought to negotiate a treaty of amity with Iltutmish and it was in consideration of this that Iltutmish on the one hand declined to help Jalaluddin and Changez on the other gave up his plan of returning to China via Lakhnauti, Kamrup, and across the Himalayas. Thus India escaped the horrors of a Mongol invasion not because of superior merit of Iltutmish but because of the contemporary political situation.

Under the successors of Iltutmish the position on the north-west continued to deteriorate. There were Khokhars in northern Punjab who were constantly raiding Turkish territory not merely with a view to plunder but also to annex it. The Mongols, having subjugated Khorasan and Afghanistan were determined to root out vassals and agents of the Khwarizmian Shah and as some of them had seized territory in Sindh and eastern Punjab the Mongols started raiding Indian territory as well. Hasan Qarlugh a Khwarizmian vassal stuck on to the Indian soil and was feverishly planning to expand his possessions. The agents of the Sultans of Delhi, deputed on the north-west sometimes went over to the foreigner either because of weakness or narrow self-interest. Thus Sindh and the Punjab passed through great insecurity and instability. The Sultans of Delhi generally did not possess anything to the west of the line joining Lahore, Multan and Uchh. Even these three places were not always held by them. Under Bahram and Masud they were lost to the foreigners but between 1245-46 Balban got them back by a heroic effort.

In 1246, the greatest danger was from the side of the Mongols. They had considerably weakened Hasan Qarlugh and overawed the Khokhars. With increasing consolidation of their possessions near the Indian frontier, they were able to turn their attention more and more towards India. Balban and Nasiruddin had to provide for the defence of the Sultanate in such a contingency. Balban attacked the Khokhars in 1246-1247 and suppressed them with a high hand. A Mongol army encamping across the Indus, retired to its base on hearing of the presence of the Sultan's army. Balban made no attempt to pursue it. After this, there is no mention of any war between the Mongols and the Sultan of Delhi upto 1266. But other incidents show that there was some tension all along and the Sultanate of Delhi was never in a comfortable position.

TURKISH DESERTERS TO THE MONGOL CAMP:

Jealous of the rising power of Balban, Prince Jalaluddin fled to the Mongol leader Mangu Khan and solicited his aid in securing the throne of Delhi. Mangu treated him with kindness but declined to take up cudgels with the Sultan of Delhi on his behalf. To test Jalal's ability he assigned to him the Mongol territory extending from the Indus to Lahore. In 1255, Jalal once more tried to secure the throne by joining the anti-Raihan group. But when he failed he was contented with the possession of Lahore alone. It is doubtful whether he remained loyal to the Mongols even after 1255 or whether he returned to his obedience to the Sultan of Delhi. If the Mongols were to invade Delhi, they could certainly use Jalal as a protege of theirs.

Similarly Qutlugh Khan and Sher Khan Sunqar also had for a time sought shelter with the Mongols. But the Mongols did not care to use them as pawns. Kishlu Khan desired capturing Delhi with Mongol assistance. Halagu rejected his request. But if the Mongols were otherwise minded the Sultanate might have been exposed to a grave crisis because of these traitorous nobles.

But what the Mongols had learnt or heard about the strength of the Delhi army in 1246-47, 1250 and 1258-59 had convinced them of the competence of Balban and Nasiruddin to defend their territory. They had also noticed that the Sultan of Delhi had adopted an attitude of non-intervention in the Indian territory held by the Mongols. Nasiruddin Qarlugh, after joining the Mongols wanted to promote friendly relations between the Mongols and the Sultans of Delhi by negotiating a marriage between his daughter and the son of Balban. Halagu had sent an embassy to Delhi in 1258-1259. Balban held in their honour such a magnificent durbar that they carried the impression that the Sultan of Delhi was extremely rich, popular and strong and that his army was of a high order in respect of numbers, training and military skill. That is why, the Mongols though entrenched in Sindh and Western Punjab did not attempt further conquest. On the contrary, they had enjoined on their subordinates respect for the frontiers of the Sultan of Delhi. This was not because of any special goodwill for the Sultans but because they wanted leisure to consolidate their position in Western Asia after the liquidation of the Caliphate.

After 1260, there was some change in this general tenor of peace. Multan, Uchh and Lahore were recaptured before the accession of Balban, because at the time of his coronation they have been mentioned as included in the empire of Delhi. It may therefore be said that on the whole the north-western frontier policy was not altogether unsuccessful.

HINDU COUNTER-ATTACK:

Taking advantage of the weakness of the successsors of Iltutmish, Hindu Rajas started a general counter-offensive in their respective localities and started seizing Turkish territory. This continued even under Nasiruddin but vigorous measures of Balban stayed their hands a little.

LAKHNAUTI:

As already mentioned, the Turkish rulers of Lakhnauti not only repudiated the authority of Delhi at the earliest opportunity but tried to augment their power also by waging wars against Hindu Rajas of Orissa, Kamrup and East Bengal. During this period the Ganga King Nrisingh I (1238-1264) led repeated invasions into Bengal and annexed South-Western Bengal which remained a part of the Ganga Kingdom even under his successors. In 1255, the Raja of Kamrup also scored a victory over the ruler of Lakhnauti and made him captive. The Hindu Rajas of Southern and Eastern districts of Bengal also generally remained independent. But they could not drive the Turks out of Bengal.

was busy with other things and then he suffered an eclipse himself. Even after his restoration in 1255, Turkish revolts and fear of the Mongols gave him no respite. Mewatis made capital out of it. They now entered the capital itself during broad daylight and plundered and looted at will. Hence in 1260 Balban was forced to march against them once again. He discovered their hideouts, cut down the jungles there and ordered a general massacre. A number of their villages and towns were burnt, some of their leaders were captured and carried to Delhi. The name of Malaka deserves special mention among them. Balban was particularly annoyed with him because of his depredations. All the prisoners were tortured to death and some were even flayed alive. But Mewati turbulence never ceased because the Sultan was powerless to impose his rule over their homeland.

DOAB AND KATEHAR:

The foregoing is an account of the activities of Hindus resident outside the Turkish empire or just at its frontiers. But even within the Turkish territory—sometimes in the very heart of it—there were numerous Hindu revolts. Among these Doab and Katehar were the most disaffected. Nasiruddin accompanied by Balban led his army against the Doabis in 1247 for the first time. The fort of the hill-chief which Minhaj-us-siraj calls Jalsanda was captured and the revolt was suppressed. In 1250 there was trouble again and Balban marched his troops a second time in Doab and put down the rebels. In 1256, when Qutlugh Khan raised the standard of revolt, Rajputs also started looting Turkish possessions. Thus Doab could never be made thoroughly peaceful.

The Katehris also took advantage of the weakness of the Sultanate and started raiding Turkish outposts. They stopped paying taxes as well. They attacked Badaun and Sambhal and infested the roads so that government officials could no longer move about freely in safety. In 1254, Balban personally led the campaign against them. He massacred a large number of Katehris but the Rajputs also inflicted severe losses on the Turks. Although the road used by Balban was cleared of robbers and marauders for a while but subjugation of the Katehris could not be accomplished.

DEATH OF NASIRUDDIN:

Minhaj-us-siraj does not carry his narrative beyond the year 1260 while Ziyauddin Barani begins his account with the year 1266. Hence specific details about the circumstances of Nasiruddin's death and Balban's accession to the throne have not come down to us. Nasiruddin died in 1266 of illness. Some people have hazarded the guess that he might have been poisoned by Balban. But there is neither any unimpeachable proof of it nor is there any particular reason for this. Minhaj-us-siraj speaks of the birth of a son to the Sultan but he seems to have died in infancy because at the time of Nasiruddin's death no prince of the royal family was known to be alive. That is why the Sultan had nominated Balban as his successor. Thus with the death of Nasiruddin the first Ilbari dynasty came to an end and with the accession of Balban the second Ilbari dynasty began.

CHARACTER AND ESTIMATE:

Nasiruddin was a pious, virtuous and peace-loving monarch. But he was capable of undertaking wars and he had given ample evidence of this both before and after his accession. Yet he found no special delight in fighting. When he came across an able minister he could repose implicit confidence in him but never became a tool in his eager to employ all possible means to secure the highest place in the State within the shortest possible time. He freely changed sides to secure his personal advancement. But between 1246-1266 he combined self-interest with devotion to Nasiruddin. This may also be interpreted as pursuing his true self-interest. But an examination of all relevant facts leaves the impression that he had a genuine affection for the Sultan and did not want to play false to him. Nasiruddin too not only gave him the highest office but also his confidence and by matrimonial alliances with his family made him the most honoured person in the state. In 1249 he married a daughter of Balban himself while a daughter of the Sultan by another wife was betrothed to Balban's son Bughra Khan. Consequently when the Sultan died after a prolonged illness, Balban had no difficulty in mounting the throne. The Sultan had already nominated him his successor, the principal officers of the state had been accustomed for years to act under Balban's direction and knew that there was none better than he. Hence when Balban ascended the throne in 1266 under the style of Ghiyasuddin, it was universally welcomed. This ushered in the second Ilbari dynasty.

POSITION OF THE SULTANATE IN 1266:

Dynastic revolutions usually occasion some disturbance. But in the absence of any male successors of the line of Iltutmish, foundation of a new dynasty by the nominee of the last sovereign who had exercised supreme authority in the State during the last two decades and who was related to the sovereign by many marriage ties appeared such a natural development as if Balban were an heir of the Sultan's body. Inspite of this Balban had to face many crucial problems immediately after his accession and he has acquired a place of pride among the Turkish sovereigns of the thirteenth century only because he was able to find a satisfactory solution of most of them. Ziyauddin Barani and later historians who have taken the cue from him have exaggerated these problems out of all proportion with reality. This was undoubtedly due to a desire to paint Balban as a greater ruler than he actually was. The truth underlying their statements reveals that despite his twenty years of deputyship the position of the sovereign was by no means strong and stable. A major part of state revenues had to be spent on the army because of recurrence of revolts in one part of the empire or the other. Defence against Mongol invasions and suppression of lawlessness and disorder had also entailed a heavy expenditure. On the other hand, virtual autonomy of distant governors, waywardness of Turkish nobles and guerilla tactics of the people of Mewat, Katehar and Doab had reduced public revenue. The financial structure of the state was therefore in a tottering condition. All other reforms depended on restoration of financial stability. Balban must therefore replenish the treasury. This was his first and foremost task.

Secondly, he had witnessed during the last 30 years that the 'Forty' who had been so useful in consolidation of the state during the reign of Iltutmish, had now become leaders of the forces of disintegration ever since his death. As Nasiruddin's deputy he had suppressed a number of them already. Some had died in the natural course. But there were many survivors who could at any time become aspirants for sovereignty. They must be suppressed so that sovereignty might acquire supremacy, stability and dignity. This was his second serious problem.

Thirdly, he must ensure the security of the realm by suppressing all those Hindu chiefs in the hands and was strong enough to depose or transfer even the tallest among them. He revered his mother but when he found her fomenting discord by engaging herself in conspiracies, he packed her off to a safe place away from the capital. His reign, as noticed above, was a period of stress and storm but by his tact and Balban's prudence he was able to save the Sultanate from an impending ruin and met with greater success in counteracting the hostile measures of the Mongols, Hindu Rajas and Turkish nobles than any of his predecessors.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. II, pp. 233-248; 295-399; 561-586.
2. Habibullah—pp. 81-150; 180-214.
3. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad—pp. 123-253.
4. Tripathi—Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 16-33.
5. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
6. G. S. Ojha—Rajputana ka Itihas.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND ILBARI DYNASTY: GHIYASUDDIN BALBAN

EARLY LIFE OF GHIYASUDDIN BALBAN:

After his coronation, Balban claimed to be a descendant of Afrasiyab. But it is difficult to say how far the claim was genuine. His grand-father was the head of one thousand families of Ilbari Turks. He was therefore no plebian by birth. While still a youth, he fell a prisoner into the hands of the Mongols who sold him to Khwaja Jamaluddin of Basra. Jamaluddin gave him an excellent education so that he grew up into a cultured young man. He was next brought to India where Iltutmish purchased him in 1232. He was first appointed to a minor post but his talents brought him rapid promotion and under Raziya he became *Amir-i-Shikar* or Lord of the Hunts. Bahram promoted him to the office of *Amir-i-Akhur* or Lord of the Stables and in 1244 Masud appointed him *Amir-i-Hajib*. Outside the capital, he had held the fiefs of Hansi and Rewari where he had given proof of his military and administrative talents. In 1246, he took the leading part in the conspiracy against Masud and in favour of Nasiruddin Mahmud. This won for him supreme confidence of the new sovereign and he secured the coveted office of Naib-i-Mumlikat. Between 1246-1266, Turkish nobles repeatedly rose in rebellion because of their jealousy for Balban. As Balban had entered Delhi politics only recently, certainly much later than other Shamsi nobles, they were unwilling to submit to his meteoric rise to the top. Balban on his part was consumed with ambition and after the death of Iltutmish he was eager to employ all possible means to secure the highest place in the State within the shortest possible time. He freely changed sides to secure his personal advancement. But between 1246-1266 he combined self-interest with devotion to Nasiruddin. This may also be interpreted as pursuing his true self-interest. But an examination of all relevant facts leaves the impression that he had a genuine affection for the Sultan and did not want to play false to him. Nasiruddin too not only gave him the highest office but also his confidence and by matrimonial alliances with his family made him the most honoured person in the state. In 1249 he married a daughter of Balban himself while a daughter of the Sultan by another wife was betrothed to Balban's son Bughra Khan. Consequently when the Sultan died after a prolonged illness, Balban had no difficulty in mounting the throne. The Sultan had already nominated him his successor, the principal officers of the state had been accustomed for years to act under Balban's direction and knew that there was none better than he. Hence when Balban ascended the throne in 1266 under the style of Ghiyasuddin, it was universally welcomed. This ushered in the second Ilbari dynasty.

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Secondly, he had witnessed during the last 30 years that the 'Forty' who had been so useful in consolidation of the state during the reign of Iltutmish, had now become leaders of the forces of disintegration ever since his death. As Nasiruddin's deputy he had suppressed a number of them already. Some had died in the natural course. But there were many survivors who could at any time become aspirants for sovereignty. They must be suppressed so that sovereignty might acquire supremacy, stability and dignity. This was his second serious problem.

Thirdly, he must ensure the security of the realm by suppressing all those Hindu chiefs in the heart of the Sultanate who despite brutal tortures and fierce massacres continued to defy the authority of the Sultan, attacked his officers, seized government funds, disrupted supplies, and even entered the capital during broad daylight where they stripped Muslim women not only of their ornaments but even of their clothes. These so-called marauders and robbers were in fact the spearheads of Rajput counter-attack.

In Rajputana and Central India independent Rajput States were getting more powerful day by day and were determined to drive the Turks out of India. They were constantly infringing the boundaries of the Sultanate. Fortunately for the Turks, these states had no common leader. But this deficiency might also be supplied if Balban failed to check their advance betimes. In that contingency, the newborn empire of the Turks might have been ended while still in its infancy.

Besides these internal problems, there were the Mongols whose agents ruled over Sindh and the Western Punjab. They had uprooted all the Muslim states of Central Asia. The sultan of Delhi had granted an asylum to a large number of refugees from these lands. They included dispossessed rulers, learned scholars and saintly persons. The Mongols were eager to occupy this last refuge of the Muslims. Balban feared them the most. The crown of Delhi despite its apparent splendour was verily a crown of thorns. The aged monarch not only succeeded in retaining the crown over his head but lent such unprecedented glory and dignity to it that his fame resounded through the whole of Central Asia.

DIGNITY OF THE SOVEREIGN ENHANCED:

Balban first tried to enhance the prestige of the sovereign. He knew first hand that the main cause of disturbances during the last thirty years was the weakness of the sovereign. There were some Shamsi nobles who regarded Balban as inferior to them. Balban, therefore, while trying to add to his own personal prestige raised the dignity and status of the sovereign itself. Balban used to say that there was no office except that of the prophet higher or nobler than that of the sovereign. It is the creation of God and one rises to it only by his grace. A ruler is verily a representative of God on earth and his conduct should reflect divine glory and majesty. He further affirmed that the right of government was granted by God only to those of noble birth. He traced his descent to the ancient hero Afrasiyab and named his grandsons Kai Khusrau and Kaiqubad in imitation of great sovereigns of the past. Balban regarded noble birth such an essential qualification that he never gave any high office to any non-Turk or a man of doubtful antecedents. When on Kamal Mahya's name being proposed for appointment as the iqtadar of Amroha, the enquiry revealed that he was a neo-convert not only was he disqualified and rejected but about thirty other persons were dismissed on the same ground. Fakhroo a rich man of Delhi sought andience with the Sultan and proposed to offer a very rich present to him, but Balban refused the gift and declared him to be unworthy of that signal honour. He organised his court on the Persian model. It was magnificently decorated and every effort was made to make it gorgeous and impressive. Personal bodyguards of the Sultan, dressed in a fine livery and shining armour stood behind the throne with drawn swords. This dazzled and overawed the visitors to the court. The Sultan had given shelter to about fifteen dispossessed rulers and princes of Central Asia. They too had to be present in the court and everybody except two representatives of the Abbasid dynasty had to keep standing. The descendants of the

Caliph were provided with seats much lower than the throne of Balban. This too added to the dignity of Balban. The arrival and departure of the Sultan was successively announced by a group of officers in an impressive and high tone. All visitors to the court had to observe a prescribed ceremonial and had to offer *sijda* (prostration) and *pabos* (kissing the foot) to the Sultan. The cumulative effect of all this was that a new visitor was completely overawed by the majesty and magnificence of the Sultan.

Balban came to the court in a rich and gorgeous attire. He never spoke an unnecessary word. Lower officers had no access to him except through the higher dignitaries. He maintained a grave demeanour and neither indulged in nor permitted any light-heartedness. The very look of the sovereign inspired terror and a frown on his face was enough to unnerve even the highest nobles. Even after receiving the report of his beloved son's death, he maintained a rigidly calm exterior and allowed a free vent to his emotions only in the privacy of his room.

BALBAN'S THEORY OF KINGSHIP:

Balban's behaviour and conduct underwent a miraculous change after his elevation to the throne. He gave evidence of great restraint and resolution in adapting his external behaviour to the high dignity of the sovereign. Barani says that he occasionally spoke to his son Muhammad about his principles of government and advised him to follow them in his conduct. These were:

"To assume dignity and exercise power at proper seasons and allow nothing to induce him to forget the majesty of God or the happiness of his subjects.

"Not to permit immorality and indecency to be openly practised within his realm without imposing heavy fines or some other punishment.

"To make selections from men of character for the offices of government, and not to permit men of notoriously vicious habits to find an asylum with in his realm.

"To be patient and just in the administration of justice."

When Balban returned to Delhi after suppressing the rebellion in Bengal and Prince Muhammad came to meet him he gave him much advice which may be summarised as follows:

"When you shall ascend the throne, consider yourself as the deputy of God. Have a just sense of the importance of your charge. Permit not any meanness of behaviour in yourself to sully the lustre of your station nor let avaricious and low-minded men share your esteem or bear any part in your administration. Let your passions be governed by reason. Anger is dangerous in all men, but in kings it is the instrument of death. Let the public treasure be expended in the service of the state with that prudent economy yet benevolent liberality which reason will dictate. Let the worship of God be inculcated by your example and never permit vice and infidelity to go unpunished. Be ever attentive to the business of the state that you may avoid being imposed on by designing ministers. Make it your duty to see that they execute your commands without the least deviation or neglect. Let yout judges and magistrates be men of capacity, religion and virtue. Avoid sudden promotions and crashing disgraces. Attempt only what is essential and sure of accomplishment and never falter or waver before it is achieved for it is far more damaging for a monarch to be considered a coward than stubborn."

Balban acted on these principles himself. He gave up wine, showed respect for the learned and the saintly and held discourses with them on religion and metaphysics. He observed the rules of his faith, patronised the learned and helped the poor with grants and doles. Balban thus infused divinity into sovereignty and not only regained the lost glory of the sovereign but raised it to far greater heights.

Suppression of Hindu revolts:

Balban's new regulations about the court over-awed most of the Muslim nobles into a willing submission to his authority and they tried to propitiate him by offering suitable presents. But the Hindus remained un-affected. Balban was therefore constrained to use force against them. He first moved against the Mewatis in 1266 and surrounded the jungle where they usually retired to safety. He started clearing the jungle and building a road which might facilitate rapid movement of the army. Cutting his way through the jungle in this wise he closed the iron ring on Mewati towns and villages. All males above 12 were indiscriminately massacred and all women were enslaved. About one lakh persons lost their lives and the whole tract was a scene of devastation and ruin. The Sultan felt this would terrorise the Mewatis into submission. But he wanted to take no risks. Hence he established a strong Afghan garrison at Gopalgir to keep an eye over their future movements. Similar outposts were established at other strategic points and they were all connected with one another and with the capital by newly-built roads. The soldiers posted there were assigned local villages in lieu of salary and greatest vigilance was enjoined on them. The Sultan would occasionally pay surprise visits on the excuse of hunting and this ensured due caution on the part of the garrisons. Mewati depredations in the capital now completely ceased and Balban had no worry on their account during the rest of his reign.

While the Sultan was engaged in these operations in Mewat, trouble arose in Doab and Awadh. The Sultan rapidly repaired to that region. He divided the affected region into many circles and entrusted each one of them to a special officer. They were then asked to proceed according to a set routine. The forests were to be cleared, roads built and the hot-beds of disaffection cleansed up by wanton destruction and massacre. Forts in the area were to be either occupied and garrisoned or razed to the ground. He personally supervised the execution of these measures. Disaffection was finally washed away in streams of blood. The Sultan established Afghan outposts in this region also. These were located generally in the chief centres of rebellion such as Bhojpur, Kampila and Patiali. The garrisons were instructed to keep the roads safe, put down all lawlessness with a high hand and to assist royal agents in the realization of taxes.

Settlement of this region had not yet concluded when Balban was informed of a serious rising in Katehar. The governors of Amroha and Badaun tried to intervene but they were beaten back with heavy losses. This report made the Sultan mad with frenzy. A movement of this type might endanger the security of the capital itself. He therefore rode post haste to the capital, tightened up security measures and conscripted a large army. All hostile villages and towns were burnt, women and children were given the collar of slavery while all males above 9 were ruthlessly cut down. It was no concern of the sovereign that such a policy involved lumping of the innocent with the guilty. The contemporary chronicler says that a stream of blood flowed into the Ganges and discoloured its water, the whole area was littered with corpses the stink of which made the atmosphere so foul that those who returned after the retirement of the army suffered from dangerous epidemics and died in large numbers. Thus the disturbances in Mewat, Doab, Awadh and Katehar were put down by a uniform policy of ruthless massacre, wanton destruction and display of brute force.

Relations with the Turkish nobility:

Balban now turned towards the Turkish nobility and bent his energies to bring them under proper discipline. He knew that the Shamsi nobles were not fully loyal. As a counterpoise to them he organised a new order of nobility consisting of his personal followers and servants. All high offices were given to them alone. He carried the principle of purity of blood and superiority of the Turks to such lengths that he dismissed all neo-converts from higher offices. Persons of a doubtful lineage were also similarly cashiered. Sher Khan Sunqar was the most powerful among the Shamsi nobles. He was a kinsman of Balban and during the reign of Nasiruddin he had uniformly enjoyed his confidence. That is why Balban had assigned the north-western region to his care. Sher Khan was an experienced officer and a brave general who had defeated the Mongols in a number of engagements. At the time of Balban's accession, he was the governor of Bhatinda, Bhatner, Samana, Sunnam and Dipalpur. When he noticed that in Balban's new dispensation there was no room for able Shamsi nobles, he became anxious about his personal security. That is why he did not go to meet the Sultan. Balban had vigorously bound even himself in the laws of the state. How could he then tolerate any lapse on the part of Sher Khan? Quite a number of nobles deputed on the north-western frontier had formerly gone over to the Mongols. Sher Khan too had done so. Balban therefore had a genuine suspicion that Sher Khan might try to flout the authority of the Sultan by collusion with the Mongols. He was naturally anxious to avert this danger by whatever means possible. He sent word to Sher Khan to appear at the court and when he continued to put it off on one excuse or the other for four long years, the Sultan got exasperated and had him poisoned to death.

Now he effected some transfers. Tatar Khan the governor of Bengal was transferred to fill up the vacancy caused by Sher Khan's death while his own place in Bengal was filled up by Tughril Beg. Most of the remaining Shamsi nobles were also transferred to the north-western frontier and were put in charge of the various forts and outposts there. This proved beneficial to the Sultan in more respects than one. Tughril being a personal favourite of the Sultan, his appointment in Bengal brought that province under his effective control. Concentration of too many able men in the same region led to mutual quarrels among them because of their rivalries and jealousies. This came as a boon to the Mongols who tried to exploit it to their advantage. Balban now charged them with criminal neglect of duty which might jeopardise the very existence of the Sultanate. They were therefore dismissed from office, thrown into prison or executed. Thus the Shamsi nobility came to an end.

For maintaining effective control of the centre over the provinces Balban adopted a number of measures. He would leave the capital avowedly on a hunting expedition but would pay surprise visits to officers in the vicinity of Delhi and would check the details of their work. He established a network of spies all over the kingdom and ordered them to send him a true and prompt record of important events in their locality. He had deputed them even to keep an eye over his own sons. If an informer suppressed or distorted facts out of fear or favour, he was severely punished which might amount even to capital punishment. The incident relating to Malik Baqbaq, the governor of Badaun is an instance in point. Baqbaq, flogged one of his servants to death. The local informer suppressed this incident but the Sultan came to know of it when the widow of the deceased servant carried her complaint to him. The defaulter was hanged at the gate of Badaun for his remissness. Consequently he usually got correct and prompt information about all important occurrences in the kingdom.

It has been already related how Balban overawed the nobles by enhancing the dignity of the sovereign. He made impartial justice and exemplary punishment another means of safeguarding his position. Baqbaq, the governor of Badaun was ordered to be flogged to death for the offence mentioned above and no consideration was shown to his rank and status. Similarly when Haibat Khan the governor of Awadh killed one of his servants in a state of drunkenness, the Sultan subjected him to a public whipping and then allowed the widow of deceased to avenge herself by stabbing Haibat Khan to death. Haibat Khan somehow saved his life by paying a handsome amount to the plaintiff but he felt so humiliated that he dared not appear in public and ultimately died sometime after of remorse and shame. A defeated general was also often executed as happened in the case of the Shamsi nobles defeated by the Mongols and as was to happen later in the case of Amin Khan and Tirmati because they had failed against Tughril Beg.

TUGHRIL'S REBELLION (1279):

During Balban's reign only one Turkish noble rebelled. But the severity and promptitude with which it was suppressed is a fair index of Balban's autocratic ways. Tughril was one of Balban's own slaves. Being impressed by his ability and devotion, the Sultan appointed him the governor of Bengal. For many years he continued to rule there in peace and never came in conflict with the Sultan. In 1279, Balban fell seriously ill and his sons got entangled on the frontier in beating back the Mongols. Some people thought that the aged Sultan would never recover from his illness. It was on the advice of such people that Tughril raised the standard of revolt. His successful wars against the neighbouring Hindu Rajas had secured for him numerous elephants and an immense treasure. This had added to his vanity. Mean flatterers spoke of his position and power in such terms that he felt convinced that there was no risk at all in declaring his independence. Hence he declared himself indedendent and assumed the style of Mughisuddin. He minted coins and had the *khutba* read in his own name and adopted all insignia of royalty such as the canopy, throne, etc. When Balban was informed of this revolt, he was beside himself with rage. Amin Khan, the governor of Awadh was told off to proceed against him but as some of his soldiers deserted to the enemy he had to return discomfited only to be executed by the sulky sultan. Now a fresh army was sent under Tirmati but he too met with the same fate and was awarded the same punishment. A third army under Shihabuddin also met with no better luck.

The position had now become intolerable for Balban. Stung to the quick by the infamy of repeated reverses, he now decided to take the field in person. Bughra Khan, the governor designate was also to accompany him. Fakhruddin was left in charge of the capital during the Sultan's absence. In Awadh he enlisted about 2 lacs of fresh soldiers and proceeded fast ahead undeterred by rains. He had taken a vow never to return to Delhi without seeing the end of Tughril. In Bengal, he might require boats. These were also collected and accompanied the Sultan along the river.

On the report of Balban's approach reaching Tughril, he evacuated the capital and sought shelter in the forest-clad regions of Bengal. He carried his soldiery and treasures with him and his plan was to elude the Sultan and to return to Lakhnauti in triumph when he had gone away to Delhi. Balban occupied Lakhnauti and put it in charge of Hisam-uddin the head of the army. He now proceeded towards Sonargaon to hunt out Tughril. Danuj Madhava, the local ruler offered to assist the Sultan. The army was divided into numerous reconnitring parties and each was assigned a particular region to scour carefully. Sherandaz (tiger-slayer) Malik Muhammad leader of one of these units noticed some *Banjaras* carrying corn through the jungle. His suspicion was aroused and he got them arrested. He held an interrogation but when they remained reticent, he had two of them beheaded. This had a salutary effect and the survivors guided him to Tughril's camp. Without waiting for reinforcements, they made a sudden swoop. Tughril fled in confusion, riding an unsaddled horse. But he was over-taken and killed and his head was carried as a trophy to the Sultan.

Many of Tughril's followers made good their escape but a larger number fell prisoners and were taken to Lakhnauti where Balban now returned. Gibbets for the execution of these prisoners were erected along both sides of the road and extended over more than two miles. Not merely combatants but all persons suspected to be in any way connected with Tughril were rounded up and they were all executed. This exemplary punishment terrified the people. Bughra Khan was now summoned to the royal presence and the Sultan warned him that if he rebelled he and his people would also suffer a similar fate. The Sultan also gave him general directions about how government should be carried on and then returned to the capital. The campaign had kept him busy for practically three years. The deserters to Tughril were to be punished here at Delhi. On the intercession of many persons on their behalf, the Sultan finally relented and let them off with milder punishments. Ordinary soldiers were given a mere warning, petty officers were banished for short periods, the higher-ups were thrown into prison while the commandars of divisions were paraded through the city seated on buffaloes. Barani says that he had learnt from aged people that such punishments had never been heard of in India.

DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS :

Balban made an equally effective arrangement for the defence of frontiers. The Mongols were constantly forging ahead and after the liquidation of the Caliphate, their pressure on Indian frontiers increased. The Sultan of Delhi was the only Muslim potentate who had not only maintained his integrity in the face of Mongol invasions but had also provided shelter to dispossessed rulers ond other distinguished immigrants from abroad. It was but natural that the Mongols should desire over-running his territory and putting an end to this last refuge of Islam. Balban had to meet this challenge boldly despite his preoccupation with internal revolts and administrative problems.

Defence of the frontiers was given the foremost priority in Balban's plans and he adapted his entire policy to its needs. We have noticed how he resorted to extremely severe punishments in order to root out disaffection completely. Strict control over the nobility and assertion of uncompromising ascendancy of the sovereign were also an integral part of the frontier defence measures because the Sultan felt that he could not defend the frontiers unless his position in the domestic sphere was absolutely unassailable.

Balban also realized the imperative need of tightening and toning up military organisation of the state. Imadulmulk who enjoyed confidence of the Sultan was appointed Ariz-i-Mumalik (Chief of Military Staff) and was given a separate budget free from the control of the finance department.

Strength of the army was increased by fresh recruitments and to keep the soldiery contented, their salary was upgraded. Imadulmulk acted with great sincerity and devotion so that only the best available stuff was recruited and its equipment and discipline was kept upto the mark. The system of branding the horses also came into vogue and this improved the quality of the mounts in the royal army. Balban preferred paying the soldiers in cash because he had noticed that payment through jagir was misconstrued as a hereditary grant. In the Punjab and Doab there were about two thousand people who had been assigned jagirs by Iltutmish but they retained the jagirs without rendering any military service. They claimed them as *milk* (property) or *inam* (gift). Balban ordered an investigation and it was revealed that all jagirs had really been assigned in lieu of salary. But some of the soldiers were survived only by minor children and old widows who subsisted on the produce of the land assigned and when military service was demanded a slave or a relation of the deceased would answer the summons. There were others who were adults and fit for military service but the land had been assigned to their fathers who were dead. A third group consisted of persons who had themselves received the grant but who were utterly unfit for service because of age and infirmity. Balban at first seized all these lands and offered regular salary only to those who among them were fit for recruitment. The rest were granted doles from the state. This upset most of them and they approached the Kotwal of Delhi to intervene in their favour. On Fakhruddin's request, Balban relented only to the extent of permitting aged soldiers to retain their jagirs during their life-time. All other grants remained confiscated to the state.

Balban generally preferred payment in cash but the grant of jagirs could not be suspended altogether,

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Provincial and local officers usually never paid the soldiers in cash but granted them land instead. All these measures of the Sultan made the army more numerous, more efficient and more loyal to the sovereign.

The army must next be provided practical experience of war and there should be some means of testing its efficiency. New conquests are in this sense useful . But Balban feared that long absence from the capital and frittering away of his strength in diverse campaigns might expose the kingdom to a successful attack by the Mongols. He attached the greatest importance to defence of the frontiers because on that rested the very existence of his kingdom. He therefore eschewed conquest and concentrated all his energy in sealing the frontiers to foreign invaders. This might make the army indolent and rusted. Hence he organised weekly hunting parties in which thousands of soldiers were employed in rotation. This gave them sufficient exercise and enabled them to remain fit and agile. Halagu, when told of this, spoke highly of Balban's wisdom and prudence.

At the time of his coronation, Multan, Uchh, Dipalpur and Lahore acknowledged the authority of Delhi. The Mongols held not only the territory lying west of the Indus but also a major portion of the Punjab. According to Barani, Beas formed the western boundary of the Sultanate and all lands to its west belonged to the Mongols. Balban's chief object was to check further advance of the Mongols. Driving them out of the Punjab was neither attempted by him nor was it practicable. He only tried to pin them down to the existing frontiers.

After his accession to the throne, Balban reinforced the defences of Lahore and made it into a first rate fort. One contingent of the border force was stationed here. Upto 1270 Sher Khan Sunqar had been the Warden of the marches. He was succeeded by a group of the Shamsi nobility. On their failure against the invaders, they were replaced by his own sons. The elder prince, Muhammad was stationed at Multan and Uchh with the dignity of the viceroy of the whole north-western region. In the northern sector i.e., in the Punjab he deputed his second son Bughra Khan at Samana and Sunnam. Lahore and Dipalpur also remained within his sphere of influence. Each of these places was garrisoned with the pick of Delhi soldiery. Balban and Malik Bektars were always in the capital at the head of a large army and the latter rode forth at the head of 30,000 cavalry to reinforce the Princes at shortest notice. The result was that although the Mongols tried to pierce the line of defence along the Beas they were successfully checked and forced to retreat each time. In Sindh also there was considerable desultory fighting but that did not affect the frontiers of the Sultanate. In 1285, Timur Khan, the Mongol chief of Afghanistan led a powerful invasion, plundered and sacked Lahore and Dipalpur and when Prince Muhammad rode forth to give them battle successfully allured him to fall into their trap. Following one of their common tactics, the Mongols broke the engagement after a while and fled. The army of the Prince gave them a hot pursuit. The Mongols pretended to be fleeing in utter despair and confusion. This put the Prince off his guard who pressed on with undue haste while his troops were left behind. At the opportune moment, the Mongols turned back according to plan and the retreat of the Prince was cut off by the Mongols lying in ambush. The Prince and his companions were killed almost to a man. The aged Sultan could have borne the shock of defeat but the death of his favourite son was unbearable and he did not survive the tragedy for long. Kaikhusrau, the son of Muhammad stepped into the shoes af his father and proved a worthy successor so that the Mongols were unable to capture Multan, Uchh or any other part of Sultan's territory. The policy of Balban, which was defensive in character, was thus successful.

ESTIMATE OF BALBAN:

The work of Balban may be summed up as 'consolidation'. This was the guiding principle of his policy. Whatever seemed conducive to this end was adopted and practised. Prior to his accession, dignity of the Sultan and the Sultanate had sunk very low. But on his accession he lent a new glory to it. In the words of Barani, "when he attained the throne, he imparted to it new lustre, he brought the administration into order and restored to efficiency institutions whose power had been shaken or destroyed. The dignity and authority of government were restored, and his stringent rules and resolute determination caused all men high and low, throughout his dominions to submit to his authority. Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts but his justice and his consideration for his people won the favour of his subjects and made them zealous supporters of his throne."

Other Muslim historians have also lavished praise on Balban. It is admitted on all hands that after assumption of royalty, he based his personal conduct on the highest moral principles and exhorted his sons and nobles to do likewise. As far as practicable he scrupulously followed the principles of his faith because according to Islamic ideals, it is the duty of the sovereign to promote by his conduct respect for the faith among his people. He knew the *ulema* to be selfish and degenerate and yet he showed them respect. But if they interfered with the security and peace of the realm, he had no compunction in awarding them even the capital punishment. He spent his leisure in the company of the learned and the saintly and fixed liberal grants for their maintenance as a token of his deep regard for them. He aimed at founding a despotic government and the descendants of the caliph were pensioners at his court, yet his respect for the office of the caliph remained undiminished. He added to the dignity of the sovereign and overawed the people by the magnificence of his court, terrible demeanour and gorgeous livery of his bodyguards, display of wealth and splendour at the time of Nauroz and other festive celebrations or royal processions and enforcement of an impressive ritual at the court. By granting asylum to distinguished people from Central Asia he not only added to his own prestige but secured the services of able administrators as well. For defence against internal revolts and foreign invasions, he organised a large army and under the leadership of capable commanders posted it in and around the capital and at other strategic points. He framed a number of rules to make the army mobile, efficient, and loyal. He put down Hindu revolts and Turkish disaffection by a policy of blood and iron but he made no attempt to win their hearts. The basis of his authority was fear and terror and not a sense of loyalty, gratitude or affection for the sovereign. That is why disintegration set in soon after his death.

His penal code was extremely severe and he punished people for the faults of their kinsmen and even friends. In Katehar and Mewat he butchered innocent children (above 9 or 12) so that there may be no male adults to voice opposition to him. But peace based on ruthless massacres proved short-lived and the Hindus began to raise their heads again after his death.

Impartial justice and a net-work of spies all over the kingdom proved effective aids to his autocracy. To prevent future unrest, he nominated Prince Muhammad as heir-apparent to the throne and did his best to train him for that exalted office. On his death his choice fell on Bughra Khan and he desired to train him up in the principles and practice of government by keeping him at the capital. But when Bughra Khan slunk away to Bengal without informing the Sultan, he was greatly mortified and willy-nilly he had to nominate a grandson as his successor while a son was alive. Kaikhusrau had ably filled the gap caused by the death of his father. Balban was greatly impressed by his valour and capacity and nominated him as successor to the throne. Thus Balban not only safeguarded the dignity and territory of the Sultanate during his own life-time but tried to provide for its continued glory and prosperity in future as well. If a man of Balban's genius, experience, tact and determination had not been the master of Delhi, the very existence of the Sultanate might have been jeopardised. That is why Balban has earned for himself a place of distinctive honour among the Sultans of the thirteenth century. Alauddin laid the foundation of an autocratic Khilji imperialism only by adopting and elaborating the policy of Balban. Balban may therefore be justly described as the precursor of Alauddin.

KAIQUBAD (1287-1290):

After Balban's death, the nobles of Delhi got divided into two groups. Fakhruddin and his supporters wanted to raise Bughra Khan's son Kaiqubad to the throne. The main reason for this was some personal estrangement between Fakhruddin and Prince Muhammad. Fakhruddin feared he might suffer an eclipse if Kaikhusrau the son of Muhammad became the ruler. He therefore bolstered up interests of the state to cover his own self-interest. He represented that Bughra Khan was a powerful ruler. If his son was placed on the throne, he might keep quiet and peace of the realm would not be affected. But if the throne were offered to his nephew he would certainly repudiate his authority which would lead to a civil war and that may prove fatal to the Sultanate itself. Besides Kaikhusrau was haughty and irritable so that he was not as suitable for the kingly office as Kaiqubad who was extremely moral, sweet-tempered and of a generous disposition. He was present inside the capital. Hence according to Fakhruddin, best interests of the House of Balban demanded that Kaiqubad should succeed him. The other party led by Hasan Basari the *wazir* opposed this move and laid emphasis on Kaikhusrau's military talents and Balban's nomination in his favour. But they could not carry their point. A number of its leaders were thrown into prison and were later banished. Kaikhusrau was appointed governor of Multan and Uchh while Kaiqubad was raised to the throne under the style of Muizuddin.

Balban had trained Kaiqubad according to his ideals. Barani says that before his accession he had neither tasted a drop of wine nor espied the face of any youthful beauty. Now he was stepping into youth and had already stepped on the throne so that he felt free to employ royal resources according to his whim and fancy. He plunged headlong into sensual pleasures to the utter disregard of business of the state. The very atmosphere at the court underwent a change. Dancing girls, jesters and buffoons flooded the court and a number of high nobles also emulated the example of their sovereign. In these circumstances, it was but natural that able and ambitious people should desire usurping imperial dignity by a successful revolution.

PLANS OF NIZAMUDDIN:

When Hasan Basari was dismissed, his place was offered to the deputy *wazir* Khwaja Khatir. The influence of the new *wazir* began to rise with a meteoric speed. His rival was Malik Nizamuddin a son-in-law of Fakhruddin and holding the posts of

Dadbak (judge) and *vaikil-i-dar* at Delhi. Nizamuddin was very ambitious and clever with his tongue. He was soon able to impose himself on the Sultan so much that he acquired the status virtually of a *Naib-i-Mumlikat* and all business of the state was carried on according to his advice. Nizamuddin wanted to hasten the end of the Sultan by providing for excessive indulgence in wine and women. In the meantime he proposed to eliminate all possible rivals one by one and to ascend the throne after the death of the Sultan. He sent his wife to reside in the royal palace and through her brought the Sultan entirely under his thumb.

Now he tried to eliminate all possible rivals. Prince Kaikhusrau was summoned to Delhi and murdered on the way at Rohtak. Khwaja Khatir was paraded through the city seated on an ass on a purely trumped up charge. This thoroughly humbled him. Foreign amirs were charged with conspiracy and were punished with death or banished from the land. In the vacancies thus caused, he had his own supporters appointed. The influence of Nizamuddin thus continued to grow more and more. Just about this time there occurred a Mongol invasion. Nizamuddin secured from the Sultan an order for the murder of all Mongol settlers in Delhi on the ground that their natural sympathies would always be with the Mongol invaders so that they constituted a danger to the State. Next he secured the murder of friends and relatives of the Mongols among the Turkish nobility. This caused grave misgivings among the nobles in general. Malik Fakhruddin did his best to bring him on the path of obedience and loyalty but he would not listen to him. Other nobles also spoke to the Sultan about the evil designs of Nizamuddin. But he had become a mere puppet in the hands of Nizamuddin so that he divulged the names of all such people to him and threw them into prison.

Thus Kaiqubad was irretrievably heading towards a certain death.

BUGHRA KHAN MEETS HIS SON:

As soon as the death of Balban was reported in Bengal, Bughra Khan assumed the title of Nasiruddin and introduced his own name in the *Khutba* and on the *Sikka*. He thus declared his independence of Delhi. Bughra Khan had no desire to dispossess his son at Delhi but he was by no means prepared to act as his vassal either. That explains his assertion of his own independence and non-intervention in Delhi politics. For two years, he was a silent spectator of the scenes enacted at Delhi. But when he was convinced that the policy of Kaiqubad would lead to the ruin not only of the Sultan but of the dynasty of Balban itself then he decided to intervene. He wrote to Kaiqubad numerous letters bearing on proper conduct and rules of government but they had no effect on the young Sultan.

Malik Nizamuddin was in fact an able administrator. He vigorously enforced Balban's doctrine of a strong centre and whosoever was found guilty of transgressing it was severely punished. If Nizamuddin had been doing it in the interest of Kaiqubad he might have become a second Balban. But Nizamuddin's aim was to establish his own supremacy in the guise of service to the Sultan. He had plans even to murder the Sultan in case he did not die of dissipation and debauchery which was assiduously provided for. It was therefore plain to everybody that he was intent on capturing the throne for himself. This led to discontent in the state and made Bughra Khan anxious about his son's security.

Amir Khusrau in *Quiran-us-sadain* says that Bughra Khan had gone towards Delhi only to capture it. But Barani does not support this view and says that his object was to bring Kaiqubad on the right path by paternal advice. Bughra Khan came at the head of an army, despite his mission of peace, because he had been warned of the evil influence of Nizamuddin. The latter interpreted his march ruinous to his personal interests. He, therefore, tried to impress on the mind of the Sultan that Bughra Khan's coming at the head of a large army was a portent of evil. He should, therefore, be resisted by force and obliged to accept the suzerainty of Delhi. The Sultan fell in with his views and proceeded towards the east at the head of the Delhi army.

The father and the son met on the banks of the Saryu near the eastern boundary of Awadh. Nizamuddin wanted to prevent a meeting between the two. Instead he wanted to bring the two armies into collision so that Bughra Khan might be defeated and the authority of Delhi might be asserted over Bengal. But Kaiqubad was keen on meeting his father and was opposed to needless fighting. Failing in his object of provoking an open rupture, Nizamuddin now suggested that Bughra Khan though a father was officially only a governor of a province and should conduct himself as one when he came before the Sultan. If this was not enforced, it may compromise the dignity of the sovereign. This Kaiqubad accepted. Bughra Khan was at first unwilling to accept this position but when he found Kaiqubad utterly incapable of taking an independent decision he accepted all conditions because he knew that Nizamuddin was insisting on them only to prevent a meeting between him and his son. As a mark of mutual goodwill and faith Bughra Khan sent his younger son Kaikaus to the camp of the Sultan while Kaiqubad sent his infant son Kaymurs to the camp of his father. Bughra Khan then crossed the Saryu to meet his son. He alighted at the gate of the audience hall, kissed the ground thrice and then entered it in all humility and reverence. When he had come quite close to the throne, Kaiqubad could no longer restrain himself. He got up from the throne, advanced towards his father and fell at his feet. Bughra Khan raised him up and closed him in a warm embrace. Tears of joy rolled down the cheeks of the father and the son. Kaiqubad wished to seat his father on the throne but he declined. Instead, he seated Kaiqubad there and offered him homage in the manner of provincial governors. Nizamuddin would not permit a private audience between them. But when Bughra Khan was bidding farewell to his son he whispered into his ear that he should mend his conduct and get rid of Nizamuddin if he wanted to save himself.

NIZAMUDDIN MURDERED:

Bughra Khan then returned to Lakhnauti while the Sultan proceeded towards Delhi. While on the way, he totally abstained from wine and women but when an extremely charming young woman was set upon seducing him he could not long resist her charms and fell a victim to his former vices. All the exhortation by Bughra Khan had proved ineffective. But when he once gained sobriety, he ordered Nizamuddin to proceed to Multan as its governor. He kept postponing his departure on one excuse or the other. But the enemies of Nizamuddin came to the Sultan's rescue and poisoned him to death.

END OF BALBAN'S DYNASTY:

On Nizamuddin's death, numerous Turkish amirs started collecting at Delhi. They wanted to devise a plan for the protection of the Sultan and perpetuation of Turkish ascendancy. The Sultan made some fresh appointments at this time. Jalaluddin Khilji, the governor of Samana was summoned to Delhi, appointed *Ariz-i-Mumalik* and assigned the government of Baran. Malik Aitmar Kachchhan was appointed *Barbak* while Malik Aitmar Surkha got the office of *vakil-i-dar*. Thus the Khiljis and the Turks secured almost equal recognition. Jalaluddin

Khilji was an experienced general and a man of a mild disposition. The two Aitmars fell to organising the Turks on a racial basis. Hence Indian Muslims joined hands with the Khiljis. In fact Khiljis were also Turks but because they had been settled in Afghanistan since a long time they were mistaken for Afghans. That is why the Turks looked down upon them. The misfortune of the Turks at this juncture was that although many of them were eager to secure power there was none who could lead them properly. Kachchhan and Surkha held a meeting at which a list of persons was drawn up who were considered in any way hostile to the supremacy of the Turks. Jalaluddin Khilji topped the list. It was further proposed that the Sultan should be asked to approve their murder and when he had done so they should all be killed by a sudden attack on them.

But Kaiqubad had a stroke of paralysis just at this time and he was rendered incapable of doing any thing. The Turks were anxious to push their scheme immediately. Hence the infant prince Kaymurs was raised to the throne under the style of Shamsuddin II. One of themselves was appointed regent and under this new dispensation there was no difficulty in securing an order for the murder of all enlisted suspected hostiles. Ahmad Chap, deputy of Kachchhan and a relative of Jalaluddin came to know of this move. He reported everything to Jalaluddin.

The *Ariz* summoned all his suporters on the excuse of holding a muster of the army and chalking out a plan of action against the Mongols. They assembled at Baharpur near Delhi and inspection of troops was started. Malik Kachchhan invited Jalaluddin on the excuse of holding a high level consultation. But the latter avoided compliance on one excuse or the other. Thereupon Kachchhan went to invite him personally. Khiljis knew all about the conspiracy already. They therefore dragged down Kachchhan and Alauddin chopped off his head. The sons of Jalaluddin raided the royal palace and captured Kaymurs whom they carried away to their camp. Malik Surkha and his companions gave them a chase but they turned back and killed Surkha and a number of other notable amirs. The sons of Fakhruddin fell prisoners into their hands.

The people of Delhi were in a ferment at these developments. They began to assemble for an attack on the Khilji camp. Fakhruddin feared that his sons might be murdered in retaliation. Hence he persuaded the mob to disperse peacefully. Jalaluddin placed Kaymurs on the throne. A Khilji soldier is said to have entered the apartment of Kaiqubad during the recent raid and he kicked him to death, finally throwing his corpse into the Jumna. Jalaluddin invited Malik Chhajju, a kinsman of Balban to accept regency of the king. But he declined and was happy to get away as the governor of Kara and Manikpur. Jalaluddin's next choice was Malik Fakhruddin but when he too declined, he assumed the regency himself. A little later Kaymurs was thrown into prison where he soon died. This cleared the ground for Jalaluddin's assumption of sovereignty.

CONCLUSION :

With the assumption of power by the Khiljis in 1290, one period ended and a new one began. Turks had dominated Delhi politics upto 1290. They were now replaced by the Khiljis and Indian converts to Islam. During the last hundred years three different dyansties had ruled over the Sultanate. There were various reasons why the dyansties changed so rapidly. As there was no definite law of succession among the Muslims a sentiment of respect and loyalty to any particular dyansty was hard to grow. Secondly, it was a period of military unrest so that a ruler who was not a good general could not retain power for long. Thirdly, the Turkish nobles were very selfish and ambitious and were constantly intriguing. This was another bar to a dynasty becoming stable and strong. Fourthly, every able Sultan (Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban) recruited a new order of nobility from among his personal slaves and followers and gave them all higher posts to the exclusion of the older nobility. This they considered essential for the success of their regime. The nobles were thus creatures of individual Sultans and as such owed special loyalty to them alone. But as soon as their master was dead they never gave the same loyalty to his successor. Instead, they tried to grab more and more power for themselves by dominating the Sultan. Its inevitable corollary was rebellion and growth of factions. Fifthly, the Hindu Rajas were unwilling to submit to the Turks and were in perpetual opposition. This compelled local governors to maintain large contingents which could be used even against the Sultan. On the north-western frontier also a large army had to be maintained. We have already noticed how rebellion by frontier officers created serious difficulties for the Sultan. Even if they remained loyal and alert, Mongols were a constant menace. Because of these various reasons a weak ruler had no chance during this period and he was bound to be deposed sooner rather than later.

Despite these drawbacks and weaknesses, it is remarkable how bravely and perseveringly they fought against Mongol invaders, Hindu opponents and rebellious governors. It is by these successful military operations that they strengthened the roots of the Sultanate of Delhi. Their government was predominantly military in character. They were often guilty of religious discrimination and even persecution. But they did succeed in founding a system of government which was new to India but in conformity with principles of Islam. In this respect the services of Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban are particularly memorable.

Another special feature of the history of the 13th century is that the Hindus tried to put an end to the Turkish dominion by persistent counter-attacks. In many sectors they even regained their independence. But they could not make a joint organised effort. There were a number of petty Rajput chiefs who carried on guerilla warfare against the Turks and caused them great annoyance by plundering their camps. This means that although the Turks captured a number of important Hindu forts and levied taxes from the people of their vicinity but morally the Hindus remained unconquered and they never lost faith in their capacity to drive the Turks out of their country.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. III.
2. Habibullah—pp. 151-188.
3. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad—pp. 254-322.
4. Tripathi—pp. 23-41.
5. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
6. Kishori Saran Lad—History of the Khiljis, pp. 1-17.

Section 3

THE SULTANATE AT ITS ZENITH

VI. Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji
VII. Sultan Alauddin Khilji
VIII. Decline and Fall of the Khilji Empire
IX. Ghiyasuddin Tughluqshah
X. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluqshah

CHAPTER VI

SULTAN JALALUDDIN FIRUZ KHILJI

ORIGIN OF THE KHILJIS:

Barani says that the Khiljis were distinct from the Turks. But he does not mention the race to which they belonged. Later historians have iudulged in a lot of speculation about their origin. The fact however is that as *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin* records the Khiljis were one of the 64 clans of the Turks. Modern research also lends support to this view. The Khiljis migrated to Afghanistan in the 4th century A. D. and in course of time they adopted the habits and modes of life of their neighbours. This led to their being mistaken for Afghans. Pressure of the Mongols pushed the Khiljis into India. This happened in the twenties of the thirteenth century. Stray individuals of this clan had come to India even earlier with the armies of Ghazni and Ghor. From the time of Iltutmish they started pouring in larger groups and the worthier sort among them entered the service of the Ilbaris.

EARLY LIFE OF JALALUDDIN:

We have no reliable account of the genealogy and early life of Jalaluddin. All that we know is that he entered the service of the state under Nasiruddin or Balban and was enrolled in the army. The generals deputed by Balban to defend the north-western frontier included Jalaluddin also. Under Kaiqubad he held the government of Samana and was appointed *Sar-i-Jandar* (chief of the royal body-guards). After Nizamuddin's downfall, Kaiqubad appointed him *Ariz-i-Mumalik* and conferred on him the title of Shayasta Khan. After this his rise was meteoric. As head of the army, he won the support not only of the Khiljis but also of some Turks and a large number of Indian Muslims. Khiljis included many ambitious young men. They incited Jalaluddin to capture the throne and did things which left him no alternative but to do so. Alauddin killed Aitmar Kachchhan. This necessitated bringing the child-king under their control. Again on their exhortation and forced by the then political situation, he had first to accept the office of the regent and then in June 1290 he had to occupy the throne itself in the interest of peace and security of the realm.

CAUSES OF DISCONTENT AGAINST JALALUDDIN :

Jalalduddin secured sovereign authority no doubt but he did not try to enter the old capital Delhi. Instead, he had himself crowned at Kilughari the new capital of Kaiqubad. Many Turks and citizens of Delhi remained disaffected towards Jalaluddin even after his accession to the throne. There were many reasons for this. The measures adopted by Balban for strengthening the rule of the Ilbaris had impressed and overawed the people so much that they thought that the house of Balban would last eternally. Jalaluddin had put an end to the dynasty of the same illustrious master. The people were neither prepared for such a development nor were they willing to condone such a crime. Secondly, the Khiljis had made their position secure by the murder of Kaiqubad and Kaymurs. This too was a cause of political discontent. Thirdly, Jalaluddin had been occupying a very low post till very recently. Those who were formerly his equals or superiors were unwilling to accept him as their sovereign. Besides, the Sultan did not come of any noble or high family. Perhaps many generations of his ancestors had held only minor posts. The people, on the other hand, would prefer a man of high birth as their sovereign. Lastly, many people laboured under the impression that the Sultan was not a Turk but an Afghan whereas according to their notions Turks alone were fit to assume sovereignty.

EARLY MEASURES:

By the nobility of his character, justice, generosity and piety Jalaluddin soon won the confidence of his people and sentiment of hatred was replaced by that of affection. This was the outcome of Sultan's early measures. The Sultan realized full well that it would take some time before he could win the confidence of the Turks, and their implicit faith he might never secure. He therefore appointed Khiljis to most of the higher offices in the state. But to make his authority broad-based some posts were offered to non-Khiljis also. All these appointments were announced in the court so that it may be widely known that the Sultan did not regard himself the representative of any particular race or group but that he regarded himself as the custodian of all his subjects and particularly that of the Muslims.

Khwaja Khatir, the *wazir*, Malik-ul-umara Fakhruddin, the Kotwal of Delhi and Malik Chhajju, the governor of Kara-Manikpur were retained in their posts although they were supporters of the house of Balban. The eldest son of the Sultan, Ikhtiyaruddin was given the governorship of land adjoining the capital. He was probably marked out as the successor to the throne for the title of Khan-i-khanan was conferred on him. The second son got the title of Arkali Khan. A little later he was made the warden of the north-western frontier with head-quarters at Multan. The third son was entitled Qadr Khan. His uncle Malik Husain became Tajul-mulk while his brother Malik Khamosh became Yaghresh Khan and got the office of the *Ariz*. Among his nephews, Almas Beg became *Amir-i-Akhur*, while Alauddin became *Amir-i-Tuzak*. His sister's son Malik Ahmad Chap was appointed *Barbak*. In the distribution of other offices also, he maintained a certain ratio between the Khiljis and the non-Khiljis.

ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL:

This liberal policy brought the Sultan in good repute and his competence as a ruler was now generally recognised. Malik-ul-umara Fakhruddin sent the leading citizens of Delhi to wait on a deputation upon the Sultan at Kilughari. They were very favourably impressed by the firmness, justice and liberality of the Sultan. Gradually opposition of the citizens of Delhi died down and on an assurance by the Kotwal, the Sultan agreed to go there. When the Sultan reached the gate of Balban's red palace, he alighted from his horse and bowed as reverently as he used to do in the life-time of Balban. On going in, he declined even to seat himself on the throne of Balban and as he recounted the misfortunes of the last dynasty, tears rolled down his cheeks. He said that he did not consider himself fit to fill the throne of Balban and assured the audience that if the two Aitmars had not forced his hands he would have never aspired for the throne. As he said this, he was so deeply moved that he had to cover his eyes with his turban lest people should notice that he had been completely overpowered by his emotion. The elderly people were greatly moved by the Sultan's humility, simplicity and tenderness and they were convinced of his innate goodness. But to the younger Khiljis such sentimentality appeared inconsistent with royal dignity. Ahmad Chap even spoke it out but Jalaluddin would not accept his point of view.

THE POLICY OF JALALUDDIN:

During the six years of his rule, Jalaluddin followed a new policy. Till then the Sultans had tried to rule by terror and force. Jalaluddin tried to base his government on the gratitude, affection and devotion of the people. Instead of ruthlessly suppressing

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the brutal and satanic elements in man he wanted to appeal to the truly human and the divine in him. Instead of awarding deterrent punishments, he preferred opening out the possibility of self-reform in the future by condoning first offences. Instead of entertaining distrust and hostility he put his faith on the good in man and loved to inspire their faith in himself. In suppressing internal disorder or defence against foreign invasion, he was prepared to indulge in unavoidable bloodshed but because he recognized the worth of every human life he was opposed to needless spilling of even one drop of blood. Without in any way relaxing or undermining the efficiency of the state, he was determined to put his liberal ideas into practice. Ahmad Chap remonstrated against this policy frequently and said that a generosity of that type was only a synonym for lack of enterprise which would render good government impossible. He recommended application of Balban's principles which had stood the test of time. He therefore wanted that for the maintenance of peace and order in the realm the Sultan should have recourse to terrorising the people into submission by severe punishments. Jalal administered a mild rebuke and remarked that he was not unfamiliar with Balban's principles or practice of government. He had been witnessing the use of deterrent punishments since a time when Ahmad Chap was yet to be born. Nor was he afraid of war as Mongols would testify, and a fresh proof of which would be furnished if they happened to invade again. But he was unwilling to believe that God had made man so wicked and crooked that he could be impressed only by fear and terror and that he was congenitally incapable of reciprocating the sentiments of generosity and love. He preferred governing the state by his new policy and if it were impossible to govern in this wise he had no such infatuation for the kingly office that he could not renounce it.

EVALUATION OF THE NEW THEORY:

Contemporary chroniclers have severely run down this new theory of government. They record how the Khilji amirs questioned the utility of submission and devotion to a person who could neither punish his enemies nor reward his followers. They therefore said that it would be much better to place Ahmad Chap on the throne. Other nobles equated it with pussilanimity. They record also what transpired at a feast given by Taj-ud-din Kuchi. When the company had taken more wine than was good for them, they indulged in loose talk without the inhibition of reason and sense of propriety. One of the company remarked that Tajuddin would make a far better sovereign than Jalaluddin. They should rather place him on the throne. At this another remarked that he would cut down Jalal like a cucumber. These incidents suggest that the nobles of Jalaluddin neither liked his policy nor were they afraid of him. Modern authors charge him with senility and loss of mental vigour. He is charged with neglecting his duties in this world because his mind was constantly engrossed in the thoughts of the world hereafter. That is why he propounded such silly principles of government as were quite out of place in the thirteenth century India. But if one considers these comments in the light of events of the reign of Jalaluddin it appears that because of his murder at the hands of Alauddin, his entire policy had been condemned as unsuitable. While judging the merits of the new policy it should be borne in mind that during his reign there was neither a successful revolt nor a foreign invasion. No conspiracy against the Sultan went undetected nor is there any evidence that people who had been forgiven repeated their offence. He was deceived only by his kith and kin on whom he thought he had lavished such affection and generosity that they could never go against him. This was his first and last error of judgment which cost him so dear.

Once a suspicion crossed his mind but he forcibly thrust it aside and stood so self-condemned in his own estimation for imputing evil to others that he promptly knelt down in prayer to ask for God's forgiveness. Jalaluddin should not have trusted anybody to such lengths. But mere reason and intelligence is not the only determining factor in man's life. Reference to biographies of great men reveals the fact that when adverse destiny overtakes a man he is guilty of errors which were foreign to his normal behaviour. Fate warps his judgment to drag him down into death. Is it not that some such thing happened in the case of Jalaluddin also ? Let us suspend final judgment till a review of the events of his reign has been concluded.

REBELLION OF MALIK CHHAJJU :

The first important event of Jalaluddin's reign is the rebellion of Malik Chhajju. The Malik must have had a high status among the nobles of Balban because of his birth and experience or else Jalaluddin would not have offered him the regency of Kaymurs. Malik Chhajju had then been satisfied only with the grant of Kara-Manikpur and to all appearances, he was a supporter of Jalaluddin. Even after Jalal's accession, he had offered no opposition and that is why he was confirmed in his appointment. But when he noticed that there were many Turkish nobles in and outside the capital who were unwilling to welcome the rule of the Khiljis, he was seized with a desire to acquire sovereignty by a successful rebellion. The governor of Awadh promised to throw in his lot with him. Others expressed their adherence to him in secret. The Hindu Zamindars also offered to assist him and they began coming to his camp in thousands. This enthusiasm of the Hindus was inspired neither by a sense of devotion to Chhajju nor by dissatisfaction against Jalaluddin. They were only anxious to exploit Turkish dissensions to their own advantage. Assured of help from these various quarters, Malik Chhajju had himself crowned, assumed the style of Mughisuddin and had the coins struck and the *Khutba* read in his own name. This done, he proceeded at the head of an army for the conquest of Delhi.

As soon as the Sultan heard of this he started at the head of his army to meet the rebels and left the capital Kilughari in charge of his eldest son. His second son Arkali Khan accompanied him. Arkali Khan was sent forward at the head of the vanguard while the Sultan proceeded at a comparatively slow speed, collecting supplies on the way. Arkali Khan attacked Chhajju but the latter evaded his grasp again and again. Finally, he was overpowered and captured along with his companions. According to the custom of those days, all the principal rebels were clad in tatters and were brought before the Sultan, bound hand and foot and with dust and straw placed over their heads. When the Sultan saw their downcast and woe-begone faces and recollected their noble birth and high status, he was moved with pity. He ordered that they should be freed from fetters, given a bath, dressed in decent clothes and then brought before the court. At this kind treatment, the rebels felt so over-whelmed that they dared not raise their heads. They cursed themselves for their sins. To revive their spirits, Jalaluddin gave them food and drink and then set their fears at rest by admitting that they had done nothing grievously wrong in supporting a scion of the last dynasty. But he warned them not to repeat the crime for they must have realized by their personal experience the utter impossibility of success in such undertakings. The Sultan appointed Arkali Khan as the governor of Multan and Malik Chhajju was placed under his surveillance. His bodily comforts were provided for but he was rendered incapable of further mischief in future. Other principal rebels were transferred to distant regions while Alauddin was assigned the government of Kara and Manikpur.

According to Balban's theory of punishment, none of these rebels should have been spared his life. Instead, they were feasted and honoured like distinguished guests. Many people disliked such behaviour and one of them, Ahmad Chap openly criticised it and said that such treatment was inconsistent with the dignity of the sovereign and the security of the state for it would act as an incitement to rebellion. The reply of Jalaluddin contained this important assertion. "I have deeply pondered over the case of these captive rebels and I have come to the conclusion that if I overlooked their rebellion and spared their lives, they too as human beings will be sorry for their conduct before God and I am convinced that they would be bound to me by ties of gratitude so that they would neither join into conspiracies for capturing the throne nor would they encourage lawlessness or rebellion. Thus he wanted to win their hearts by kindness. He forgave them not because of lack of energy for he promised to give a good account of himself in case the Mongols set their foot on his territory. Jalaluddin therefore stuck to his view and was justified in the sequel because none of these nobles rose in rebellion later.

SUPPRESSION OF THE THUGS:

On his return to Delhi, the Sultan noticed that the environs of the capital were infested with highway robbers. He immediately took measures against them. A large number of *Thugs* were captured. They were administered a severe warning that the law provided a very severe punishment for their crime but the Sultan was willing to give them a free pardon in case they promised to turn a new leaf in life and became peaceful citizens of the state. Those who were captured in the beginning were let off on tendering an apology and giving an undertaking of good conduct in future. Subsequently another batch of about a thousand *Thugs* was captured. The Sultan banished them to Bengal with a warning never to return to the capital again. Never in the history of the Sultanate had such crimes been treated with such leniency. It is difficult to ascertain from contemporary sources whether it led to the end of the trouble or not. While talking of the evil effect of Jalaluddin's policy they nowhere mention that *Thuggee* became rampant because of kindness to *Thugs*. It may therefore be inferred that prompt measures of the Sultan in apprehending the *Thugs* frightened them while his generosity later either obliged them to practise their trade outside his dominions or they gave it up altogether and adopted more honourable avocations in life.

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE SULTAN :

As noticed earlier, generosity of the Sultan was mistaken by certain groups and persons as cowardice. He did not confine all the benefits of the state to the Khiljis alone. This made them also sullen and cold towards him. The generosity of the Sultan became the talk of the day. The masses in general were happy over it. But among the nobles there were many who thought that the Sultan was on the wrong track. They made great fun of the Sultan's weak-kneed policy. Sometimes under the influence of liquor they went even to the length of saying that the Sultan should be replaced by a worthier person. Some ambitious people dreamt of acquiring sovereign authority for themselves. Tajuddin Kuchi was one of them. He one day held a feast and invited to it persons who were known to be hostile critics of the Sultan. Either under the influence of liquor or because they sincerely thought so they said that it was better to place Tajuddin on the throne. One of them offered to cut down the Sultan like a cucumber.

The next day when they went to court, the Sultan threw down his sword as an open challenge to everybody to fight a single combat with him for he would like to ascertain how brave and courageous they were. When they heard this, they were all dumbfounded. They had thought that the Sultan would get no inkling. But now they realized that the Sultan's spies were spread all over the Empire and that they kept him posted uptodate. Then one of them tried to save the party by flattery. He said that he was confident that a wise person like the Sultan would never be misled by what people said when drunk. Besides he did not think anybody could be so silly as to oppose a generous monarch like him. These words of flattery pacified the Sultan. He forgave them but sent them away to distant places and forbade them to return to Delhi for one year. He also warned them that if they repeated their crime, they would be handed over to Arkali Khan.

SIDI MAULA:

Another conspiracy against the Sultan was headed by Sidi Maula. Sidi was a *darwesh* from Persia. He had been initiated by Shaikh Farid-ud-din *Ganj-i-Shakar* of Ajodhan. Shaikh Farid had warned him to concentrate on spiritual matters and to avoid participation in politics. But when on his coming to Delhi the eldest prince Khan-i-Khanan and other leading grandees of the state began to assemble at his feet, he began to be fired with political ambition. Many of the nobles coming to him were dissatisfied with the Sultan on one ground or the other. They readily promised to join in Sidi's conspiracy. It was decided that the Sultan should be murdered and Sidi should be proclaimed the caliph. He should be connected with the first Ilbari dynasty by marrying a daughter of Sultan Nasiruddin. All the cospiractors were promised a post proportionate to their ability and influence. But this too was detected in time and all the leading conspirators including Sidi were captured.

Sidi's conduct had aroused suspicion also otherwise. Ordinarily he was a man of spotless character and strictly observed rules of celibacy. He took a frugal meal and accepted nobody's money. This had made him a highly revered saint. But the Muslims did not like his regular absence from prayers at the Jama Masjid. Upto the time of Balban, his residence had been a humble hermitage. But from the time of Kaiqubad his establishment became more and more expensive although he had no ostensible source of income. In the reign of Jalaluddin, his expenditure suddenly shot up inordinately. Barani says that he had established a *khanqah* (charity house) where free food was distributed. It daily consumed 2000 mds. of maida, 500 mds. of meat, 500 mds. of rectified butter and oil, 200 to 300 mds. of sugar and 100 to 200 mds. of vegetables. The dishes provided there were so numerous and so costly that even the richest grandees of the state could not emulate the Sidi. The number of his disciples rapidly increased to ten thousand. Leading men among them assembled every night avowedly for spiritual exercises and discourses. But popular suspicion was aroused because of the composition of these nocturnal assemblies. As Khan-i-Khanan was also one of the regular visitors, Jalaluddin and Arkali Khan also grew suspicious. It is said that one night Jalaluddin himself attended the assembly in disguise and thus came to know all about it. One of the party also informed the Sultan about it. On the basis of the information supplied by him arrests were made.

The Sultan had so far dealt with the crimes, revolts and conspiracies of ordinary individuals.

Although he did not let them go scot free, yet the punishments had never been heavy. Now he had to deal with a person who pretended to be a saint but who was engaged in a conspiracy to secure land and riches by murder. Men of his class were expected to set an ideal before the community. Hence to forgive them was to court a general fall in social standards. Consequently while his piety had induced kindness in regard to average criminals it demanded exemplary punishment of Sidi Maula. The accused were put to trial. They would not confess their guilt even in spite of tortures. The judges expressed their inability to condemn them on the evidence of a single witness. Then an ordeal by fire was proposed but the *Qazis* and the *ulema* would not vouch for its legality. But the Sultan was determined to inflict punishment. Arkali Khan also supported this move because if the accused escaped, chances for his succession to the throne would be blighted. Some Muslim saints also hated Sidi for his lack of orthodoxy. This trial had caused great excitement at the court and passions rose high. The Sultan desperately wanted some legal mode of punishment. In the meantime, a *darwesh* attacked Sidi and wounded him. Arkali Khan immediately had him trampled under the feet of an elephant.

Other conspirators were punished with transfers, exile or confiscation of property. Thus this conspiracy was also foiled. The account of Barani suggests that Sidi was truly innocent and that execution of such a saintly person caused an immediate severe famine in the land while the Sultan had to atone for his sin with his own life. He connects the murder of Sidi with the murder of the Sultan. But a fair appraisal of the available details leaves the impression that Sidi was justly punished for his crime.

MONGOL INVASION (1292):

In 1292, there was a Mongol invasion. Abdullah was leading an army of 1,50,000 soldiers in India. Jalaluddin marched at the head of 30,000 soldiers to reinforce the frontier army. The Mongols lay encamped on the western bank of the Indus. Jalaluddin strongly held the eastern bank to arrest their advance. After some skirmishing, the Mongols were able to cross the river in force. The Sultan quickly moved to attack it and inflicted a crushing defeat on it. Thousands of Mongols fell captives. Finally, Abdullah and Jalal came to terms and the Mongols retired to their land. About four thousand Mongols embraced Islam and settled down in India. The Sultan married his daughter to Ulghu a descendant of Changez and leader of the Mongol settlers. They were assigned quarters in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and it came to be known as Mughalpura. The policy of Jalaluddin led to establishment of friendly relations between the Sultan and the Mongols so that they never invaded the country again during his reign. Notwithstanding this, the entire tract of land including Lahore, Multan and Sindh was placed under the unified command of Arkali Khan for better integration of plans of frontier defence.

WARS AGAINST THE RAJPUTS:

Jalaiuddin tried to conquer fresh lands also. In 1291, he led an army against Ranthambhor, one of the premier forts of Rajputana which had defied the arms even of Balban. The Sultan first attacked and captured Jhain. He then sent a raiding party into Malwa which returned with much valuable booty. Now a siege was laid to Ranthambhor itself. The Sultan went round inspecting the dispositions of his army and the defences of the fort. His scouts were also active collecting relevant information. They told him that the local Raja had collected a large force and was preparing for a long siege. The Sultan himself had been impressed by the strength of its defences. The fort could therefore be conquered only after a protracted siege which might drag on for years. The Khilji revolution was only a recent affair and it was not quite safe to stay away from the capital for a long period. He therefore raised the siege and retired to Delhi.

This decision of the Sultan has been described as an act of cowardice and weakness. Barani says that Ahmad Chap had also insisted that the Sultan should retreat only after catpuring the fort. But the Sultan did not agree with him. He is reported to have said that he valued a hair of Muslims far more than ten such forts and therefore he would not waste Muslim lives in an attempt to conquer the fort. This statement of Barani does not appear reliable because if the Sultan was really so anxious to save the lives of Muslims, he should have forsaken the very idea of conquest and annexation. But the Sultan did not stop his wars of conquest even after this campaign. The retreat from Ranthambhor was thus inspired not by senility but by weighty reasons of state and military necessity.

In 1292, he attacked Mandor and Jhain a second time. But finding permanent conquest untenable, he satisfied himself with mere plunder and loot. All these efforts were probably a part of a larger scheme of conquest of Ranthambhor.

ALAUDDIN KHILJI:

But since 1292, Alauddin, a nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan began to come into greater prominence and the Sultan was so highly impressed with his valour and achievements that he left the task of subjugation of Malwa to him. Alauddin was also called Ali. His father Shihabuddin was also one of the retainers of Balban but he had died before 1290. Jalaluddin treated the sons of Shihabuddin with great kindness. He married one of his daughters to Almas Beg and another to Alauddin and on his accession to the throne he conferred on them high posts at the court so that they were counted among the leading nobles of the state.

Alauddin did not take kindly to formal education and he probably did not know even the alphabet. But he had a keen intelligence and was a skilled fighter. He was an adept in the use of arms and was remarkable for his valour, courage, perseverence and ambition. It has been noticed earlier how he initiated the Khilji revolution by beheading Kachchhan and was later picked up for the governorship of Kara in recognition of his martial qualities.

At the time of this appointment, he was probably twenty five. His family life had not been happy. He himself was not a man of strong morality and had an intrigue with the sister of Malik Sanjar. This led to a serious quarrel between him and his wife. His wife prided herself on being the daughter of the Sultan and would often assume airs of undue superiority. Alauddin refused to become hen-pecked. Being disgusted with the behaviour of his wife, he began to neglect her and she made this the ground for saying many unpleasant things. This made matters worse. The wife of Jalaluddin tried to mend matters by brow-beating Alauddin which led to greater estrangement. Alauddin was so sick of these ladies that life lost all charm for him and he tended to grow indolent, insipid, and dispirited. He was now jeered at as utterly worthless who depended for his maintenance on the generosity of the Sultan.

The revolt at Kara had just been suppressed and the principal rebels had been sent away to other places. Even then, there were a number of people who were not well-wishers of the Khiljis and who disliked Jalaluddin because his accession had adversely affected their interests. They flattered Alauddin and spoke ill of Jalaluddin. They incited him to rebellion on the plea that for the preservation of the Khilji dynasty it was necessary that he should replace Jalaluddin on the throne. Alauddin loved to hear all this but would say that he had no intention of doing anything against his sovereign and father-in-law. Gradually some rebellious people became intimately associated with Alauddin. They impressed on him that he could easily secure the support of the people of Kara and Awadh. They said that Malik Chhajju himself could have succeeded only if he had a little more money. Alauddin took counsel with himself about how he could have a bright future. He might have thought that there might be other rebellions and conspiracies because of the Sultan's weakness and misplaced generosity. Arkali Khan, Ahmad Chap or anybody else might set him aside at a convenient moment and occupy the throne. Then why should he not do something which might bring him the throne of Delhi and destroy the vanity of his headstrong wife? He realized that he could lay a successful trap for the Sultan only by first winning his confidence in the widest possible measure. He therefore left no stone unturned in making a parade of his loyalty and gratitude to the Sultan. At the same time, he decided to amass wealth and to test the competence and loyalty of his own advisers.

CONQUEST OF BHILSA (1292):

Having made satisfactory arrangements for the administration of Kara, Alauddin turned his attention towards the training of his soldiers. After making necessary preparations, he sought permission for an attack on Bhilsa. It was readily granted. Alauddin went so fast that the people of Bhilsa came to know of his approach only when he had come very close to the town. They could improvise no defence so that the city passed into the hands of Alauddin who systematically plundered the treasures of temples and rich merchants. He thus secured an immense booty. Alauddin carried it all to Delhi and presented the whole of it to the Sultan. Jalaluddin was greatly delighted at the sight of the various articles of booty and he appointed Alauddin as *Ariz-i-Mumalik* and assigned the province of Awadh also to him.

CONQUEST OF DEVAGIRI (1296):

This meant a steep rise in the position and status of Alauddin. This unexpected success acted as a further incentive to his designs. He now planned the conquest of Devagiri. While busy with the Bhilsa campaign, he had heard numerous stories about the wealth of the Raja of Devagiri. The kingdom of Devagiri extended over the entire tract of land lying between the Vindhyas and the Krishna i.e., Maharashtra. The Yadava dynasty of the place had garnered much wealth, power and prestige by successful wars against Malwa, Gujerat and Mysore. From the very beginning of the 13th century their fame rose so high that none dared invade their territory. There was thus internal peace and security which led to the growth of trade and industry and general prosperity of the land. The contemporary ruler was Raja Ramchandradeva. Alauddin had learnt that not only the people of Devagiri were very prosperous but there was a huge accumulation of gold and jewels in the royal treasury itself. He determined to possess this huge wealth as soon as practicable.

JALAL SANCTIONS ATTACK ON CHANDERI:

After his successful attack on Bhilsa, Alauddin sought permission for an attack on Chanderi. Barani says that he also undertook to offer to the Sultan the entire booty captured there. The Sultan was quite satisfied with his conduct and had a genuine affection for him. He, therefore, not only accorded the necessary sanction to his proposal but permitted him also to utilise the total revenue from Kara and Awadh in fitting the campaign.

MARCH TO DEVAGIRI:

Alauddin raised an army of 8000 soldiers. During his absence, Alaulmulk was deputed to govern Kara and Awadh and he revealed to him that he was really going to Devagiri on the pretext of going to Chanderi. He asked Alaulmulk to send to the Sultan fictitious reports of his progress for some days and then that no news was coming. He also told him that he would return as early as possible.

Alauddin took the Bhilsa-Chanderi route and crossing the Vindhyas appeared before the town of Elichpur. On the way, nobody interfered with him because he had circulated the rumour that he had quarrelled with his sovereign and was going to seek service under the ruler of Rajmundry. He had already spread a net-work of his spies in this region. As soon as he was informed that Singhan the eldest son of Raja Ramchandra had led a campaign to the South with most of the troops, he swooped down on Elichpur and halting there for just two days went ahead. On his way to Devagiri he had to fight an engagement against a Yadava vassal named Kanhan. Isami says that during the first onslaught, two female generals fighting like tigresses forced the Turks to retreat but when Alauddin led a counter charge he was victorious.

TREATS WITH RAMCHANDRA:

Alauddin now held a war-council and posed the question whether his followers were really equal to the task of capturing Devagiri. When the women of the region were so brave and warlike, men might be altogether invincible although this was true that in the event of conquest a very rich booty could be captured. The soldiers repudiated this slur on their valour. They vowed on oath that they would exert to their utmost for victory which they were sure they must have. Having thus raised their spirits, Alauddin pressed forward to Devagiri. Sudden appearance of Alauddin unnerved Ramachandra. Alauddin also had it noised abroad that he was only the leader of the vanguard while the Sultan was coming at the head of 20,000 soldiers leisurely behind.

Ramachandra decided to fight a defensive war from inside the fort. Hc summoned Singhana back to the capital and at the same time also considered ways and means of seeing Alauddin out of his kingdom. He therefore opened negotiations with him for peace. In the meantime Alauddin had plundered the town outside the fort and had made some of its leading citizens captives of war. It was finally agreed between the two parties that Ramachandra shall allow Alauddin to retain what he had already captured, that he would pay him a further stipulated ransom and that on receipt of it Alauddin would release the prisoners and leave the Yadava kingdom for return to the north.

FIGHT AGAINST SINGHANA:

Before the implementation of the above terms Singhana returned home and he sent a peremptory message to Alauddin that he should immediately surrender the entire booty and leave the kingdom or else he should prepare himself for a certain death. Alauddin was by nature bold. Besides, any exhibition of weakness in the face of the enemy would have rendered his return almost impossible. The only course open to him therefore was to choose war, come what may. He left a thousand men under Nusrat Khan to continue the siege of Devagiri so that Ramachandra may not be able to form a junction with his son. He himself made a violent charge at the head of the rest of his troops on the army of Singhana. The Yadavas returned the charge with such vehemence that Alauddin despaired for victory. Nusrat Khan had been closely watching the progress of events. He now raised the siege and led his troops to the assistance of his master. The Yadavas mistook them for the army of the Sultan and were so paralysed with fear that they broke and fled. Singhana suffered a defeat and Alauddin returned to the siege of the capital. He ordered the execution of some of the prisoners and subjected others to torture. Ramachandra desired seeking the aid of other Hindu Rajas against the Turkish invader but it was discovered that in the hustle of haste they had carried bags of salt instead of those of corn so that they could not stand a siege for long due to lack of essential supplies. He was therefore obliged to negotiate for peace once more. This time he had to agree to far more stringent terms. Barani says that Alauddin secured so much wealth that it lasted upto the time of Firuz. Nor does any other contemporary author mention the exact terms of peace. Ferishta mentions them. Though he is a late author, it is likely he might have based his account on some contemporary history of the Deccan which has now been lost. He says that Alauddin got 600 mds. of gold, 7 mds. of pearls, 2 mds. of diamonds rubies, emeralds, sapphires and other precious stones, 1000 mds. of silver and 4000 pieces of silk and sundry other articles. The Raja also agreed to send the revenue of Elichpur as annual tribute. Alauddin thus secured an unprecedented success.

CAUSES OF RAMACHANDRA'S DEFEAT:

What was his success due to? The foreign department of Ramachandra appears to have been weak. He had paid no regard to proper defence of frontier regions so that an invader could be checked promptly at the frontiers. His secret service must have been utterly worthless or else he should have found out that the Sultan was not coming, that Nusrat Khan had moved away from the fort so that he could freely march out to the assistance of Singhana. Secondly, in their vanity they had neglected the defence of their capital and on the coming of an invader they were so non-plussed that they could not distinguish between bags of salt and corn. Alauddin had acted very wisely in leaving Nusrat Khan to continue the siege and in circulating the report of Sultan's impending arrival. He exhibited great valour and fortitude in the hour of peril. As opposed to this Sighana adopted a pompously vain attitude in the beginning but did nothing to establish contact with the army inside the fort or to keep an eye over the movements of Alauddin's contingent employed there. All these factors combined to bring victory to Alauddin.

ALAUDDIN RETURNS TO KARA:

Alauddin now quickly retraced his steps towards Kara. Jalaluddin had in the meantime marched to Gwalior and his scouts had informed him that instead of attacking Chanderi Alauddin had gone to Devagiri from where he was returning with an immense booty. The Sultan was greatly delighted to hear of his success. He fondly hoped that this time too Alauddin would place the entire booty at his feet. Still, he called a meeting of the chief dignitaries of state and took counsel with them about the proper course of action. Ahmad Chap had always recommended strong measures. He gave the same advice this time also. He said that anybody in the possession of the huge booty that Alauddin had secured would turn rebellious. The Sultan should therefore intercept him on the way in which case Alauddin would be forced to surrender all his booty to the Sultan whether he liked it or not. The Sultan might then take him to Delhi, if he liked, in all honour and might confer on him additional jagir in recognition of his service. That would involve no risk. But if Alauddin were permitted to return to Kara serious consequences might follow. Others opposed this view probably to curry favour with the Sultan. They said that if an attempt was made to intercept Alauddin, he would naturally be frightened and at least his soldiers would run away for safety. This may mean dispersal of the booty and consequent loss to the Sultan. Jalaluddin approved this suggestion and decided to return to Delhi for had he not treated Alauddin with uniform affection and generosity and shown him greater regard than even to his sons that he should think of rebellion and conspiracy against him. He was not prepared to believe that man could be as vile as that.

MURDER OF JALALUDDIN:

On Sultan's reaching Delhi, a letter from Alauddin, couched in the most polite and humble terminology was received. He admitted his fault and apologised to the Sultan for it. He also promised to wait on the Sultan with all the booty as soon as he had received his letter of forgiveness. Jalaluddin lovingly rebuked him for his baseless fears and assured him of his continued affection for him. The royal couriers were thunder-struck at what they saw in Alauddin's camp but they were kept under virtual detention so that they could neither return nor warn the Sultan about the true state of affairs. The Sultan thus remained entirely in the dark.

Alauddin now addressed a second letter, this time to his brother Almas Beg in which he said that he knew some courtiers were hostile to him. He feared they might have poisoned the ears of the Sultan. He was himself conscious of having disregarded the *farman* of the Sultan. The very thought of this so unnerved him that he could not muster courage to face the Sultan. He would seek deliverance from this torturing anguish by committing suicide. The only alternative that he could think of was a visit by the Sultan to Kara and his personal assurance of forgiveness to him. When Almas Beg read out this letter to the Sultan, he ordered him to proceed to Kara forthwith and to assuage the feelings of Alauddin. At the same time he himself promised to go to Kara to give him complete assurance. On Almas Beg's arrival Alauddin once more reviewed the whole situation. He had first planned to go to Lakhnauti with all his treasure and troops but when he learnt that the Sultan would be accompanied only by a thousand soldiers and a few nobles, he changed his course of action. He stationed his troops on the other side of the Ganges and sent Almas Beg to escort the Sultan to Kara. On Almas Beg's request, the Sultan left everybody behind except a few nobles and later ordered them also to throw their arms into the Ganges so that Alauddin should have no cause for fear. Barani remarks that the Sultan was so blinded by his affection for Alauddin that he did not pause to consider that these requests might have been inspired by a well-laid plot. Nor did he consider how he would save himself in case Alauddin attempted treason. This was a grave error on the part of Jalaluddin. No sane person familiar with the dynastic history of Muslim states could have gone to such lengths of indiscretion. But Jalaluddin was driven into a deathtrap as if by an inexorable fate. That is why he was unable to maintain that balance of caution with generosity in case of Alauddin which had been the characteristic feature of his policy so far. The result was that when he turned back to his boat after receiving the homage of Alauddin he was attacked and wounded by Muhammad Salim and as he ran to save himself, Ikhtiyaruddin Hud threw him down and cut off his head. Some of the nobles in the boat were drowned in an attempt to escape by swimming across to the other bank. The rest were killed. The solitary exception was Fakhruddin whose life was spared because he had opposed Ahmad Chap in support of Alauddin.

CHARACTER OF JALALUDDIN:

Such was the end of this liberal and affectionate monarch. He had nursed Alauddin to manhood and had lavished on him affection, honours and high offices. He had offered his daughter in marriage to him and even on other people's exhortation had considered it a sin to distrust him much less to do him any harm. Alauddin was so blinded by self-interest that he committed the heinous crime of murdering such a benefactor. Jalaluddin is the first man who tried to govern the Sultanate on principles of liberalism. He was a successful military leader, an experienced administrator and a brave warrior. Before and after his accession he had achieved success in numerous wars but he did not believe in needless bloodshed. That is why he had withdrawn his troops from Ranthambhor and had entered into an agreement with the Mongols. He could govern with severity but he did not regard that as an ideal arrangement. That is why he advocated and enforced a bold departure from the beaten track. He was meeting with increasing success in this experiment. Once in his life he was generous to the extent of neglecting his personal security. That proved fatal. The death of Jalal sounded the death-knell also of his new theory of government. He has failed to receive credit for his noble idealism. Instead he has been painted as a senile old man steeped in superstitious thoughts of the other world. His death has thus been indirectly shown to be in the interests of the Turkish Sultanate. Alauddin in that case assumes the garb of a redeemer of the Sultanate and ceases to be a murderer. But neither Alauddin ever offered such a defence in his favour nor has any contemporary historian praised him for his crime.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. III.
2. Kishori Saran Lal—History of the Khilji's, pp. 18-68.
3. Ishwari Prasad—Mediæval India, pp. 202-218.
4. Tripathi—pp. 42-48.
5. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.

CHAPTER VII

SULTAN ALAUDDIN KHILJI

CORONATION:

On Jalaluddin's murder, his head was speared and shown round the camp and Alauddin was proclaimed as the next Sultan of Delhi. But the position of Alauddin was still insecure. Ahmad Chap had gone back to Delhi and had broken the news of the Sultan's murder. The Jalali nobles were thunderstruck by the news. But there was no difficulty in their combining together. Arkali Khan the Sultan's son and Ulghu his Mongol son-in-law were still alive. Arkali was a brave warrior and a general of repute. Being the ruler of Sindh, Multan and Lahore, he had no dearth of men or resources. It was natural for him to try to avenge his father's death. Alauddin's worst fears centred round him. There were besides many able nobles in the capital most of whom were offended at the Sultan's murder and would have been happy to support Arkali Khan. The citizens of Delhi also had become reconciled to Jalaluddin and could be provoked against Alauddin. Ulghu could even procure foreign Mongol assistance on behalf of Jalal's dynasty. Hindu Rajas were ever willing to fish in troubled waters.

MARCH TOWARDS DELHI:

Inspite of all these fears and misgivings, Alauddin took the next step with confidence. He satisfied his followers by the award of gold, office and honours. Almas Beg received the title of Ulugh Khan while Malik Sanjar became Alap Khan, Malik Hazbaruddin, Zafar Khan and Malik Nusrat, Nusrat Khan. Similar titles were conferred also on others or they were granted increments in salary or were appointed to higher posts. Orders were then issued for fresh recruitment. The nobles were ordered to enlist the largest possible number of men regardless of salary demanded. Enlistment started both in Kara and Awadh. The Sultan now proceeded at the head of this army towards Delhi. Wherever he encamped he had gold pieces fired from manjniqs. The common man was greatly impressed by this generosity and the last Sultan faded out of their memory. Fresh enlistment was also made at each encampment. He thus proceeded towards Delhi at a slow speed, the number of his troops constantly swelling up and the people on the way getting increasingly favourable to him.

Causes of slow progress of Alauddin:

Alauddin took about three months to reach Delhi, for while the murder of Jalaluddin took place in July, Alauddin's coronation at Delhi came off as late as October, 1296. What accounted for this slow progress? Alauddin had sent his spies in advance who supplied him with information about Arkali Khan's movements and the developments at Delhi. He wanted to attack the capital when its conquest could be easy. Therefore as long as he did not receive full and authentic information about the state of things there he did not approach it. Secondly, he noticed that some self-seeking Jalali nobles had come over to him. He paraded his generosity by giving them 20, 30 or even 40 *mans* of gold and accorded them a place in his army. He wanted such reports to be widely circulated so that other like-minded people might also join him. This also necessitated slow movement. Thirdly, he wanted to reduce to submission the whole area from Kara to Delhi so that his line of communications might not be disrupted by rebellion in his rear. This also involved delay. Fourthly, Alauddin had learnt that Malika-i-Jahan in supersession of the claims of Arkali Khan had placed Qadr Khan under the style of Ruknuddin

Ibrahim on the throne and that this had caused a rift between the Jalali nobles. Alauddin wanted it to widen and harden. All these factors recommended delay. But undue delay might also prove fatal. The impression in that case would have been that he was lacking in courage and self-confidence or that his power was weak. Arkali Khan and Malika Jahan might compose their differences and there might be foreign intervention on their behalf. Alauddin, therefore, now appeared before Delhi without undue delay.

OCCUPATION OF DELHI AND FRESH CORONATION:

Fortunately for Alauddin, the opponents made numerous mistakes. Malika-i-Jahan felt that it would be dangerous to keep the throne vacant. She therefore placed Qadr on the throne and began to rule herself on his behalf. It was a serious blunder to have overlooked the claims of Arkali Khan. If she had proclaimed Arkali Khan as the new Sultan and had acted as his deputy during his absence, summoning him urgently to Delhi, she would have incurred no opposition from the side of the nobles and there would have been very few desertions. But she failed to do this. She first passed over Arkali Khan and later when a number of nobles deserted to Alauddin rendering the defence of the capital almost untenable, she wrote to Arkali Khan expressing her regrets for placing Qadr Khan on the throne and inviting him to come to the capital at once and accept the throne. Arkali Khan was a man of an irritable temperament. On receiving the report of his father's death, he should have himself gone to Delhi and in collaboration with the nobles should have prepared for a war of vengeance against Alauddin. But he took such an umbrage at the injustice of his mother that he wished for the ruin of the new sovereign and refused to go to Delhi on the excuse that there was no hope of saving the capital when most of the nobles had gone over to the enemy. This sulkiness on the part of Arkali Khan sealed the fate of the Jalali dynasty.

Consequently, when Alauddin crossed the Jumna and launched an attack on Ruknuddin's followers, he secured an easy victory. Ruknuddin, his mother, Ahmad Chap, Ulghu and some of their supporters escaped to Multan. Alauddin now entered the capital and on October 20, 1296 he was crowned amidst great rejoicings. The soldiers were given six months' salary as a bounty. The Shaikhs and the Ulema received grants of land and money while the poor and the orphaned received food and clothing. Festivities lasted for many days. This generous flow of gold and wine drowned all sense of opposition and Jalaluddin's murder was a forgotten story.

NEW APPOINTMENTS:

In order to consolidate his position in the capital and the empire Alauddin retained some of the higher officers of the last regime in their posts while the rest of the places were distributed among his own personal followers. Khwaja Khatir continued as the *Wazir*. Sadr-uddin Arif was appointed the Chief Justice while Malik Abaji became *Akhur Beg*. The last two also belonged to the Jalali group. From among his own followers, he appointed Nusrat Khan as the *Kotwal* and Fakhruddin Kuchi as the *Qazi* at the capital. Alaulmulk was appointed governor of Kara while Zafar Khan got the office of *Ariz-i-mumalik*. In the distribution of other offices also the Sultan was more partial to his own followers.

CONQUEST OF MULTAN (1296-1297):

Having secured his position in the capital, Alauddin deputed Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan at the head of 40,000 soldiers to attack Multan and capture the sons of Jalaluddin. Arkali Khan had made the necessary preparations, hence the siege lasted for about two months. Then the *Kotwal* and some leading citizens of the town went over to the side of the besiegers. This led to the surrender of the garrison. Arkali Khan, Qadr Khan, Malika-i-Jahan, Ahmad Chap, Ulghu Khan and their principal supporters were made captives. The army had reached Abohar on the return march when Nusrat Khan brought a special message from the Sultan. Arkali Khan, Qadr Khan, Ahmad Chap and Ulghu were blinded and the two princes were imprisoned at Hansi where they were later murdered. Malika-i-Jahan, Ahmad Chap and Ulghu were incarcerated at Delhi and after a time they were lost in oblivion. Alauddin's authority had now become perfectly secure. There was none who could stand up as a rival to his position. He therefore devoted his attention to formulating a policy suited to the needs of the empire.

AIMS AND POLICY OF ALAUDDIN:

Ziauddin Barani says that the Sultan met with such unexpected success in his early years that he began to formulate impossible designs. But when Qazi Alaulmulk, the uncle of Barani advised the Sultan to have due regard for time and place in fixing his plans, he was sobered and adopted the path of reason. Barani also records certain conversations alleged to have taken place between the Sultan and Qazi Mughisuddin. These throw a flood of light on the Sultan's political ideals and his religious policy. A review of Sultan's activities in the light of these records helps in elucidating the broad features of his policy.

Alauddin was an ambitious monarch. He wanted to achieve something which might immortalise him in the history of the world.

(a) *Imperialism*: He first thought of going on world-conquest like Alexander and giving to his world-wide empire a new religion. Alauddin planned to raise a large army with the help of the Deccan gold. He was assured of the ability and devotion of his generals like Zafar Khan, Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan and Alap Khan. He himself was a bold leader. He therefore concluded that conquest of the world would be easily achieved. But when Qazi Alaulmulk drew his attention towards domestic and foreign problems and told him that the world had considerably changed from the days of Alexander, that he could find no minister in India like Aristotle and that planning world-conquest before subjugating the whole of India was opposed to reason, he changed his mind and concentrated all his energy over establishing an all-India empire. Alauddin was the first Muslim monarch who conquered practically the whole of Northern India and imposed his suzerainty over most of the Deccan and the Far South.

(b) *Secularism*: In regard to founding a new religion, Qazi Alaulmulk said that that was the privilege of prophets alone. No religion could be founded by mere force and design. For that divine inspiration was essential. Besides, the duty of the sovereign is to govern the state and not to dabble in religion. Alauddin gave patient thought to his suggestions and finally decided that he would not only give up the idea of founding a new religion but would keep religion and politics apart from each other and thus found a secular state. Alauddin did nothing which might incur the hostility of the orthodox *Ulema* as it did later in the days of Akbar. He made no change in the practice of appointing them to most of the offices in the judicial department. He would occasionally consult them and enforce teachings of Islam in the social sphere as far as practicable. In his own personal life too he tried to conform to them as best as he could. But they lost their dominant role in determining general policy of the state. He now enunciated a new principle that the government should do what was suited to emergency and was in the best interests of the people. Consideration of its conformity to Islam or otherwise was irrelevant. Nor should the sovereign bother in this connection about what would happen to him on the Day of Judgment.

(c) *Defence of frontiers*: In the defence of his frontiers, Alauddin modelled his policy on that of Balban. But he was no blind imitator and made numerous changes wherever necessary as shall be related at its proper place hereafter.

(d) *Relations with the Rajputs*: Alauddin also realized that the roots of the empire could not be strengthened without the support of the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular. He therefore showed greater consideration towards Rajput rulers. He utilized some of them even in the suppression of their brethren. He married himself as well as the heir-apparent to Rajput princesses and instead of keeping them as mere concubines gave them a place of honour in the royal household. At the time of his death, he nominated as his successor a son born of a Rajput princess. But in the political sphere there was such deep-seated rivalry between the Turks and the Hindus that it was impossible for him to secure respect and loyalty of the latter by founding a government free from all discrimination.

(e) *Turkish monopoly of power ended*: Alauddin maintained sovereign authority and high dignity of the Sultan as under Balban but he had no undue fascination for higher birth. Breaking the monopoly of the Turks, he allowed new-Muslims and even Hindus to render service to the state. Malik Kafur was a low caste Hindu who had been converted to Islam. The Sultan made him his principal adviser and during the last years of his reign he did almost everything as he suggested. Thus under the Khiljis and specially from the time of Alauddin, Turkish monopoly of power came to an end and it became possible for any of the Sultan's subjects to secure high office if he had merit and the will to cooperate.

(f) Alauddin established a highly centralised autocracy. He forced everyone to bow before his judgment. Muslim nobles, Hindu landlords and local officials, rich merchants and petty traders, Muslim divines—each and all of them were compelled to act according to his wishes. He maintained a firm grip over them by ruthless punishments, efficient espionage and strong militarism.

(g) *Precautionary measures*: Alauddin had captured the throne by chicanery and murder. His constant fear therefore was that his example might be imitated by others. He knew that he himself had succeeded mainly because of three reasons—he had enough resources to build up a strong army, the Sultan reposed undue confidence in him and did not keep a proper eye over his movements and local Hindu chiefs lent him the aid of their troops. Alauddin took the precaution of pursuing a policy which should prevent accumulation of surplus wealth with the Hindu and Muslim nobility. Abolition of jagirs and payment in cash and stringent measures against Chaudhris, Muqaddams, Khots and Balahars were a part of this very policy. When his suspicion was aroused, he not only secured the murder of his highest generals but threw even his own sons into prison.

For some time the policy of the Sultan proved a great success. His treasury overflowed with gold and precious stones. In the sphere of war, he scored numerous and rapid successes so that his authority extended over practically the whole of India. Even the highest grandees of the state dared not oppose him and were afraid of offering any hostile criticism even in the seclusion of their homes. But as soon as disease disabled him, signs of opposition became visible. Hindus started their counter-offensive while Kafur's intrigues hastened the end of the empire and the dynasty itself. The policy of Alauddin failed to strike roots in the land because it rested too much upon force and repression. His success was purely personal and proved ephemeral.

WARS OF CONQUEST:

Alauddin ruled for twenty years. Most of his time was spent in wars. He first concentrated on the conquest and annexation of Northern India and when he was relieved of all worry in the north, he turned towards the South. But his policy in the two regions was not identical. In Northern India, Sindh, Malwa and Gujerat though distant from Delhi were not too far to be controlled from the capital Therefore in Northern India, Alauddin followed the policy of annexation and appointed his own governors for the administration of conquered territory. But conditions in the South were different. The Sultan therefore abstained from assuming direct responsibility for government there. He left the administration in charge of local Rajas and was content to exact only an annual tribute.

GUJERAT (1299):

The army sent against Arkali Khan had reduced Multan and Sindh to submission. Ulugh Khan was appointed governor there. Alauddin next planned the conquest of Gujerat. The fertility of its soil and a liberal policy towards trade and industry had made the province very prosperous. Arab and Persian traders frequented the ports of Gujerat and acted as the carriers of Indian goods to Western Asia and the Mediterranean lands. This brought plenty of foreign bullion to India and made the cities and ports of Gujerat extremely wealthy. There was internal peace and security too. The Chalukya Solankis had been ruling over the province since the days prior to even Mahmud's invasion and Bhim Solanki, the contemporary of Shihabuddin was strong enough to inflict such a crushing defeat on the Sultan in 1178, that he never invaded Gujerat again. Aibak led his forces twice into Gujerat to avenge the defeat of his master but he could neither annex an inch of its territory nor demand any tribute from its ruler. The successors of Aibak had such serious problems to face in the vicinity of Delhi and other conquered territory that they could never think of invading Gujerat. Thus Gujerat had retained its independence for about a hundred years even after the foundation of Muslim dominion in India.

The ruler of Gujerat at this time was Karna Baghela. The Baghelas were related to Solankis and had succeeded them in the government of Gujerat. A two-pronged attack was planned on Gujerat. Nusrat Khan proceeded across Rajputana while Ulugh Khan marched from the side of Sindh. The two armies formed a junction near the frontiers of Gujerat and then made a joint advance into its territory. Karna failed to make a stand and fled in such utter haste that his treasure and family was left behind. He sought shelter in Devagiri. This cowardly flight of the Raja simplified the task of the invaders. They freely plundered the towns like Surat, Anhilwara, Cambay and Somanath. Isami says that the soldiers had so much leisure and ease that after seizing all apparent property they tortured the people to reveal their secret hoards which too were dug out and seized. In course of loot and arson many temples, including the celebrated shrine of Somanath, were desecrated. Towns and villages were laid waste and thousands of people were killed or enslaved.

After overrunning the whole of the kingdom, the royal army returned to Delhi and Alap Khan was appointed its governor. An adequate force was left under his charge. When the army under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan reached Jalor, Ulugh Khan desired to realize government's share of the booty by interrogating the soldiery. Some chroniclers say that the royal generals demanded only the legal one-fifth but they were unduly severe in the body-search of the soldiers and in trying to discover what had been kept back unlawfully. This severity led to a general discontent. Others like Nizamuddin Ahmad say that the state-demand was pitched much higher than one-fifth and this occasioned discontent. The leaders of malcontents were the Mongol converts to Islam. It appears that other soldiers being familiar with the common Indian practice readily submitted to a higher demand while the neo-converts refused to do so and cited the law in their favour. Some Mongol leaders were of the same status as Ulugh Khan himself. But they too were badly treated. This led to serious resentment. They now planned to seize the entire booty by murdering Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan. A brother of Nusrat and a sister's son of Ulugh Khan who was sleeping in the latter's tent were killed. But before the mutineers reached the tent of Nusrat Khan, Ulugh Khan woke him up and informed him about the disturbance. The two now had the kettledrum beaten and the mutineers fled the camp. Most of their leaders escaped alive and entered the service of Hindu Rajas. Hammir, the ruler of Ranthambhor gave shelter to Muhammad Shah who rendered him much meritorious service later.

The victorious generals finally reached Delhi. Alauddin was greatly satisfied when he noticed a huge pile of gold and precious stones included in the booty. But he was far more delighted when Kamaladevi the wife of Raja Karna and *hazar dinari* slave Kafur were presented. The Sultan accorded Kamaladevi an honoured place in the harem and married her. To Kafur he gave his trust and affection and later offered him the highest office in the state.

But the women and children of the mutineers were barbarously treated. Children were cut to pieces in the presence of their mothers who in their turn were subjected to various tortures, deprived of their property and then executed. A wave of terrible fear seized men's minds and they were mightily afraid of the Sultan.

RANTHAMBHOR (1300-1301):

After the annexation of Gujerat, Rajputana was surrounded on three sides by Turkish outposts. Hence its conquest became easier. Besides, for maintaining control over Gujerat the intervening Rajputana had also be subjugated. Thirdly, there were still states in Rajputana which prided themselves on their high and ancient pedigree and were enjoying independence. They must be conquered if an all-India empire was to be a reality. Hence Rajputana, so close to Delhi had the first priority for invasion. The most powerful ruler in Rajpatana at the time was Rana Hammir of Ranthambhor, a descendant of the famous Prithiwiraja. Although the fort had been temporarily occupied under Aibak and Iltutmish it was lost to the Rajputs again after the death of Iltutmish. Since then the Rajputs had beaten back numerous Turkish armies and had preserved their independence. Alauddin sent his armies against Ranthambhor in 1300 because to the general causes enumerated above a special incentive was added when Hammir refused to surrender Mongol fugitives. The Sultan might well have thought that the conquest of Ranthambhor would damp the spirits of lesser chiefs who would then submit easily.

DEATH OF NUSRAT KHAN:

Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan led this camapign too. A message was sent to Hammir demanding surrender or execution of Mongol refugees as the price of return of Delhi army. This was probably a mere clever artifice for the Turks must have known that the hero of Rajput chivalry could never stoop to such base conduct. But if he refused compliance as was expected, the Turks would have a plausible excuse for attack. If the impossible happened and he complied with the demand, a rift among his followers would certainly be created which would weaken it and hasten its downfall. Hammir sent a firm but polite reply. He said that he was not eager to pick up a quarrel with the Sultan but he was not prepared to collaborate in the murder of those who had sought his protection, whatever the consequences. Hence fighting began. Hammir prepared to stand a siege while Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan pressed it with vigour. But a few days later Nusrat Khan was killed and the Turks suffered a set-back. The Rajputs took full advantage of this and delivered such a sharp attack that Ulugh Khan was forced to fall back upon Jhain.

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST ALAUDDIN:

When Alauddin heard of this set-back he himself led an army to Ranthambhor. While on the way, he sought a little relaxation and went a-hunting. His nephew Aqat Khan laid a careful plot to murder him. With some Mongol converts as his stooges, he attacked the Sultan crying 'tiger, tiger!' The Sultan was wounded and fell down unconscious. Many of his attendants fled for their life. But some remained. They surrounded the king and started bewailing his death. This deceived Aqat Khan who thought it unnecessary to cut off his head. He next hastened to the camp, announced the murder of the Sultan and assumed sovereignty himself. The nobles offered him homage but in the mean-time the bodyguards of Alauddin had bandaged his wounds and he regained consciousness. The Sultan wished to be carried to Jhain so that with the support of his brother, he might put down the rebels. But on Hamiduddin's advice, the

Sultan was carried over a hillock and the royal canopy was spread over his head. The nobles forsook Aqat Khan and flocked round the Sultan. Aqat Khan fled in dismay. But he was captured and promptly beheaded. All those that were in any way connected with the conspirators were immediately executed, their property was confiscated and their dependents were thrown into prison.

On Sultan's arrival at Ranthambhor, the siege was pressed closer but this too had no appreciable effect on the garrison. In the meantime, there was a galore of disturbances in the heart of the empire. Two sister's sons of the Sultan named Umar and Mangu and governors of Awadh and Badaun rose in rebellion. But they were overpowered and sent as captives to Ranthambhor where their eyes were dislodged from their sockets.

Then came the report of a far more dangerous incident. After the death of Qazi Alaulmulk Haji Maula had been an aspirant for the office of the *Kotwal* of Delhi, thus fallen vacant. But the Sultan preferred Tirmizi for that post. This disappointed and angered Haji Maula. He learnt that there was widespread despair in the ranks of the Delhi army at Ranthambhor because the Rajputs were in no mood to surrender and the Sultan on his part would not let them return to Delhi as long as the fort had not fallen. He therefore concluded that he might find numerous collaborators in a conspiracy against the Sultan. He was connected with the family of Fakhruddin which commanded great respect among the citizens of Delhi. Many people were critical of the new *Kotwal* because of his severity. There were still people who had a soft corner for the Ilbaris. Taking stock of the entire situation, Haji Maula fixed the details of his plan and started by murdering the *Kotwal* by a ruse. A descendant of Iltutmish was next placed on the throne and the royal treasury was captured.

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He won over opponents by paying their price in gold and himself became the *de facto* ruler of Delhi. The Sultan deputed Ulugh Khan to suppress this revolt but before he could reach the capital, Hamiduddin had already overpowered the rebels and Haji Maula and his puppet Sultan had been beheaded. According to the new penal code of Alauddin all friends, followers and kinsmen of the rebels were executed and their property was confiscated to the state. Alauddin's authority over his capital was thus restored.

TREASON BY RANMAL AND FALL OF RANTHAMBHOR:

The siege of Ranthambhor had never been relaxed despite these distractions. The Rajputs had conducted the struggle with great resolution and ability. But when Alauddin relentlessly pressed on the siege with unflagging zeal, the Rajputs began to despair for success. The garrison was faced with shortage of war material and Alauddin's rigorous watch made it impossible to secure replenishments from outside. Hammir was thus obliged to negotiate for peace. He sent Ranmal as his emissary. Alauddin won him over by promise of gold and high office and gave him a written undertaking that whatever soldiers and chiefs of Hammir would desert to him would be given a free pardon. Because of Ranmal's influence, Ratanpal and some of their friends went over to the Sultan. This demoralised the Rajputs still further. They performed '*Jauhar*' and Rana Hammir along with his kinsmen died a hero's death. Ranthambhor thus fell into Alauddin's hands in 1301 and he appointed Ulugh Khan as its first governor. Having profited by the treason of Ranmal and his friends, the Sultan ordered their execution saying that persons who could play false to their master in such a crisis could not be relied upon.

CHITOR (1302-1303):

The Sultan next invaded Chitor. Its rulers enjoyed a high respect among the ruling dynasties of Rajputana. The fort of Chitor stood on the crest of a hill and was almost impregnable. But as it lay on the route to Gujerat it had to be conquered. Alauddin himself assumed the chief command. The fort could be captured only after a siege which dragged on for eight months. Rana Ratnasingh put up a gallant resistance and finally performed '*Jauhar*'. He died fighting. Alauddin was so incensed at this stout resistance that he ordered a general massacre of the civilian population and the sword of the assassin was sheathed only after taking a toll of 30000 lives. Prince Khizr Khan was appointed governor and the fort was rechristened Khizrabad after his name. Khizr Khan was nominated successor to the throne just at this time.

CENTRAL INDIA (1305-1306):

The conquest of Ranthambhor and Chitor frightened other states of Rajputana into a willing submission to the Sultan. They agreed to pay an annual tribute as well. Alauddin, therefore, sent Ain-ul-mulk Multani with 10,000 horse for the conquest of Malwa and Central India. He first encountered opposition of Mahlakdeva, the ruler of Malwa. The Rajput commander was Koka Pradhan, a brother of the Raja himself and equally gifted as a general and as a diplomat. The Malwa army is said to have numbered 40,000 horse and a lakh of infantry but the battle went in favour of the Sultan. Ain-ul-mulk gradually occupied Mandu, Dhar, Ujjain and Chanderi and the Sultan was pleased to appoint him the governor in that region.

SIWANA (1308):

After the conquest of Malwa, the Sultan led an army against Raja Shitaldeva of Siwana. Although the war lasted for many months, ultimately the Rajputs were defeated and a larger part of the kingdom was annexed to the empire and Malik Kamaluddin was left in charge of it.

JALOR (1311):

The last important campaign in Northern India was directed against the Chauhan prince, Raja Kanhardeva of Jalor. He had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan sometime in 1304 but he was allowed internal autonomy and his attitude towards the Sultan was not very respectful. This was probably the cause of invasion of his territory in 1311. The royal army suffered some reverses in the beginning but when reinforcements arrived, the tables were turned and Jalor was also annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. Treachery also had its share in this development because Maldeva, the brother of Kanhardeva was appointed governor at Chitor ostensibly in recognition of his services during this campaign.

This completed the conquest of northern India. But it had no permanance. During the last years of Alauddin, Rajputs started a counter-offensive in Rajputana and acquired independence in a number of places. The Rajputs had learnt nothing from their debacle in the 12th century and they could never forge a common front against the Turks. Their defeat was principally due to their organisational defects which have been noticed at some length in a previous chapter.

CONDITION OF THE DECCAN:

While conquest of the north was still proceeding, Alauddin sent his armies into the Deccan as well. There were four principal states in the south at this time. South of the Vindhyas, in the modern Maharashtra region lay the kingdom of the Yadavas with their capital at Devagiri. They had subjugated the entire territory upto the river Krishna. They had acquired great prominence by diplomacy and war against their neighbours. As noticed in the last chapter, its ruler Raja Ramachandra was famed for his wealth even in northern India. The south-eastern neighbour of the Yadavas was the house of the Kakatiyas of Telingana, with its headquarters at Warangal. The contemporary ruler Pratap Rudradeva II was daughter's son of the Yadava princess Rudramba Devi. Warangal was a famous town in the Deccan and its rulers had amassed a large treasure of gold and jewels by a prosperous foreign trade. To the south of Devagiri and west and south-west of Telingana lay the kingdom of the Hoysalas whose capital was Dwarsamudra. The Hoysalas were constantly fighting against the Yadavas in the north and the Cholas in the south. At the time of Alauddin's invasion of the Deccan, Vir Ballala III was the ruler at Dwarsamudra. In the far south was situated the kingdom of the Pandyas with its capital at Madura. The contemporary ruler Kulashekhar was a great and powerful ruler. But he was fonder of a son born of a concubine. This offended his legitimate son Sundara so much that he murdered his father in 1310 and tried to seize the kingdom by force. It was during this civil war that the Turks invaded the kingdom.

Like the states of the north, these kingdoms were also engaged in mutual warfare. They too had neglected defence of the frontiers. It was therefore easy to attack them. In each of these kingdoms the royal coffers were full of gold and precious stones, collected from foreign traders. Merchants and craftsmen had also grown rich. Then there were temples where large accumulations of wealth had taken place because of strong religious sentiments of the people. Marco Palo, Abdul Razzak and other foreign travellars have testified to the extreme richness of the land.

Contemporary Muslim chroniclers have also confirmed their testimony. It was, therefore, natural for a powerful ruler of the north to desire the conquest of the south.

CAUSES OF INVASION:

For an ambitious imperialist like Alauddin this in itself was a sufficient ground for the invasion of the Deccan that the states there had grown weak by mutual warfare. But when he was told that he could also secure incalculable riches from there, his appetite for conquest became stronger still. The fact that its frontiers were ill-defended acted as a further incentive. But beside these general causes there were in 1307-1308 some special grounds also for invading the Deccan. His army consisted of 4,75,000 soldiers. Unless they were kept engaged they would stir up trouble at home. When the conquest of the north had well nigh concluded and the invasions of the Mongols had stopped, the only place where the army could be provided with some employment was the Deccan. Besides, Alauddin needed Deccan gold for his top-heavy administration and huge army. Thirdly, he must make good the loss of face by the failure of his expedition to Bengal and Warangal in 1302. This could be done only by a vigorous successful campaign. Fourthly, Karna Baghela the exiled king of Gujerat was living in Devagiri with his daughter Devaldevi while his former wife Kamaladevi was anxious to be reunited with her daughter. Lastly, Ramachandra had withheld tribute for the last few years. He had to be punished for this delinquency and made a subordinate tributary again. This last was a handy public excuse for invasion.

WAR AGAINST DEVAGIRI (1307-1308):

Hence in 1307, the Sultan sent Malik Kafur at the head of 30,000 soldiers against Raja Ramachandra. Ainulmulk Multani from Malwa and Alap Khan from Gujerat were also asked to collaborate with him. Alap Khan was the first to attack and he chose Raja Karna as his victim. Karna was defeated again and he sent Devaldevi to be married to Singhan lest she should fall into the hands of the Turks. But as chance would have it, she fell into the hands of Alap Khan's soldiers. Alap Khan sent her to Delhi where after some years she was married to Khizr Khan. Kafur now rapidly advanced on Devagiri and when Ramachandra suffered another defeat he sent him to court.

Ordinarily, Alauddin was very hard upon rebels. But Ramachandra was treated with unexpected generosity. He was detained at Delhi for six months where he spent his days in a round of mirth and revelry. On him was conferred the title of Ray-i-Rayan and the district of Navasari was assigned to him as a jagir. He also received one lakh gold pieces as a gift from the Sultan. The reason for this was that Alauddin wanted a local collaborator in his task of conquest of the rest of the Deccan. Ramachandra was known to be a man of a mild disposition. Alauddin sought to overwhelm him with generosity so that he should become a loyal and faithful ally. It was political expediency that dictated this unusual generosity.

Some authors have suggested that Alauddin requited his gratitude to him for it was with the help of gold supplied by him that he had captured the throne of Delhi. But we know that gratitude had never been a strong point of Alauddin. Isami, Wassaf and Haji-ud-dabir say that the Sultan had married a daughter of Ramachandra and it was her son Shihabuddin Umar who was nominated heir to the throne before the Sultan died. In the time of Alauddin, there had been marriages in the royal family with other Rajput princesses also. But this was the only marriage to which both parties had willingly consented. The Sultan might have conferred all these honours on his father-in-law to distinguish him from other Rajas and called him the 'Raja of the Rajas'. When all is said and noted, the fact remains that the real cause of generosity was political convenience. Ramachandra was greatly touched by this behaviour of the Sultan and as Barani says during the rest of his life he never opposed him. On the contrary, he carried out his behests with great care and promptitude and sent tribute regularly.

INVASION OF WARANGAL (1309-1310):

After allowing the army a little respite, it was sent again to the Deccan, this time against the Raja of Warangal. Malik Kafur was accompanied by *Ariz-i-Mumalik* Sirajuddin and a number of other nobles. A complaint had probably been made against undue severity of Kafur during the last campaign. This is why the Sultan gave him detailed instructions in regard to general discipline and conduct of troops, peace with the Raja and other allied matters. The emphasis of the Sultan was principally on two things—(i) that Pratap Rudradeva should be obliged to part with his treasure but he should not be subjected to humiliating terms and (ii) that the soldiers and generals should be kept under general discipline but care should be taken that they do not become mutinous or disaffected because of maltreatment. Alauddin had taken special precautions also because the first expedition to Warangal (1302) had been a failure. He was anxious to avoid loss of prestige by a second defeat there.

Acting on the Sultan's advice, Kafur reached Devagiri safely. Ramachandra treated him with great cordiality and respect and helped him in numerous ways. He lent him the services of picked soldiers who were conversant with the roads leading into Telingana. He also supplied him with scouts who had an expert knowledge about the various routes to and from Telingana. For the convenience of the soldiers and maintenance of good relations between Delhi and Devagiri, he established bazars at short intervals all along the route so that the soldiers might purchase all that they needed at reasonable rates. He also made adequate arrangements for encampment of the army and supply of its commissariat wants. The farsighted policy of Alauddin had thus brought good dividends and the task of Kafur became far too easy.

On reaching Warangal, Kafur laid siege to the fort. Pratap Rudradeva offered a stiff opposition so that the siege lasted many months. Pratap Rudradeva on the one hand carried on a defensive war from inside the fort and on the other organised a guerilla force to disrupt the supply lines of the Turks and to plunder or destroy their stores. This party had considerable success in one of its early raids. But Kafur and his companions made such an excellent arrangement for ward and watch duty that the enemy could never surpirse them again. For some time they harrassed the news-carriers so much that the postal service was completely disrupted. Lack of news from the Deccan made Alauddin very anxious for the security of his troops. But after a month this also was set right and news passed regularly from both ends.

Inspite of all this, it seemed impossible to capture Warangal in the face of Pratap Rudradeva's excellent leadership. But when he learnt that the Turk could be bought off, he agreed to pay a stipulated amount to put an end to the sufferings of his subjects. There is no specific mention of the terms of the treaty. Barani says that he gave 100 elephants, 7000 horses, plenty of gold and silver and numerous precious jewels. The last probably included the famous diamond later described as the *Koh-i-noor*. Barani also says that Kafur forced him to surrender the entire hoarded wealth of his ancestors. But this does not seem to be correct. Kafur had neither captured the fort nor had the Raja come to wait on him. Besides, Barani himself says that the Raja agreed to pay a like sum every year. This shows that the Raja must have agreed to pay less than his annual income or else how could he pay it year after year. Barani says that Kafur brought the booty laden on 1000 camels but this was most probably secured by plunder during the campaign. Whatever the amount paid, the Sultan is said to have been satisfied with it and he was particularly elated over his agreeing to pay an annual tribute. The Sultan ordered general festivities which lasted for many days and he lavished great favours on Malik Kafur.

DWARSAMUDRA (1310-1311):

Kafur's third invasion was directed against Dwarsamudra. He reached Devagiri in February 1311. Raja Ramachandra offered similar help this time also. He made satisfactory market arrangements and instructed his officers not to pick up quarrels with the Muslim soldiery. Kafur also maintained strict discipline so that their march to Dwarsamudra through Yadava territory was quite peaceful. Yadava officials posted on the southern frontier furnished much useful topographical information to Kafur. The Hoysala ruler, Vir Ballala III had gone south to participate in the civil war raging in the Pandya kingdom. He was siding with Vir Pandya. Just then, he heard of Kafur's arrival. He hastily returned home and fought a few skirmishes just to keep up appearances. But he had no faith in his competence to defeat Kafur when the rulers of Devagiri and Warangal had failed to do so. He, therefore, made peace on terms of paying an annual tribute. This was Kafur's third great success in the south. This made him more ambitious still.

MAABAR (1311):

Muslim historians called the Pandya kingdom Maabar. Kafur learnt of the civil war going on between the Pandya princes. He, therefore, regarded it as the most opportune moment for defeating them. He took Vir Ballala as his guide. He decided to intervene on behalf of Sundar Pandya and did his best to capture Vir Pandya. But despite a vigorous search and zealous pursuit lasting for many months, he could not get at him. Finally he decided to return to Delhi.

Vir Ballala III had rendered great service during the campaign. Kafur probably wanted to recompense him for this. He, therefore, took him to Delhi. The Maabar campaign was unsuccessful in the sense that Kafur could neither defeat Vir Pandya nor impose any terms on him. But in respect of financial gain, this was the most lucrative of all his campaigns. Kafur had scoured practically the whole kingdom in pursuit of Vir Pandya. When on reaching an important town he found that the fugitive prince had again eluded him he sought satisfaction in pulling down and desecrating Hindu shrines and despoiling them of their wealth. He had thus amassed untold riches. Amir Khusrau says that he brought to Delhi 512 elephants, 7000 horses, 500 mans of precious stones of various types and much other booty.

Alauddin honoured Kafur and other generals by lavishing favours and praises on them in the open court. Vir Ballala was treated with the same generosity and kindness as Ramachandra. Vir Ballala was highly pleased with this and returned to the south in a happy mood.

THIRD INVASION OF DEVAGIRI (1312):

Ramachandra died in 1312 and was succeeded by his eldest son Singhanadeva. He was a staunch opponent of submission to the Turks. He had a personal growse against Alauddin because he had seized his fiancee Deval Rani. He, therefore, put an end to all semblances of submission to the Turks and started ruling like an independent prince. Just then it was felt that somebody ought to be sent to the Deccan to realize tribute from the local rulers. Malik Kafur was naturally picked up again for this assignment. He defeated Singhana who was probably killed in course of fighting. Kafur now thought of settling down at Devagiri as its governor. He seized a part of Hoysala and Telingana territory also. Kafur had no intention of returning to the north and he wished to found an independent kingdom in the south after the demise of Alauddin. This was principally due to his quarrel with Khizr Khan and Malika Jahan and his suspicion that on Khizr Khan's accession to the throne his life would not be spared. But Alauddin came in the way and sent him urgent summons to return to Delhi, handing over the administration of Devagiri to some member of the last dynasty. He, therefore, recognised Harpaladeva as the next ruler of Devagiri and himself returned to Delhi.

AN ESTIMATE OF ALAUDDIN'S DECCAN POLICY:

Alauddin was the first Muslim ruler who attempted conquest of the Deccan. When he went to the Deccan for the first time in 1296, his only motive was acquisition of wealth. He could have got it elsewhere too. But it was easier to secure it in the south and in much larger quantity because the rulers of the south had been adding to their hoards generation after generation. Marco Polo writing about Pandya kings says "when the king dies none of his children dares to touch his treasures, for they say, 'as our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn.' And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom." With slight modifications, this was true of other kingdoms as well. The Deccan temples also had been repositories of wealth for the last many centuries. Alauddin could thus satisfy all his monetary needs from just one place. That is why he had gone to the south, regardless of displeasure of the Sultan and hardships of the journey. On going there, he found that the Deccan states had far more gold than what he had imagined. He had also realized their internal weaknesses. That is why when constant wars strained his finances he sent another expedition to south in 1302. This failed because of mutual quarrels among the generals and lack of supplies. Between 1307 and 1313, he sent Kafur four times to the Deccan. But he was a man of such sagacity and prudence that he could correctly decide what was possible and what was impossible to achieve. He also knew what steps to adopt for the realization of his aims. That is why his Deccan policy was so successful.

Alauddin had assumed direct responsibility for the government of most of northern India. He therefore knew the difficulties caused by the opposition of the people of newly conquered territories. The Deccan states were far away from Delhi. Instead of trying to annex them, he was satisfied merely with imposition of his paramountcy and realizing an annual tribute. He also knew that it was far easier to plan a successful plundering raid than to subjugate a kingdom. The latter involved tireless effort and even then there was no guarantee of success. That is why he clearly told Kafur each time that he sent him to the Deccan that he should secure the wealth of the rulers by defeating or browbeating them but he should not humiliate them. They must however be forced to agree to pay an annual tribute. In 1313, Kafur had tried to act against this settled policy but the Sultan forced him to hand over Devagiri to Harpaladeva and to return to Delhi. This is the clearest proof of Alauddin's determination not to annex the Deccan under any circumstances.

In order that he might continue to receive regular tribute and might maintain his hold over the local Rajas, he treated with courtesy and generosity. Raja Ramachandra was so completely won over by the grant of gold, jagir, and high title that he became his loyal collaborator in the Deccan and never went against him. The Sultan also liked him and invited him to attend the marriage of Khizr Khan in 1312. The Sultan had similarly won the confidence of Vir Ballala III by showering gifts and honours on him.

The Sultan trusted Kafur implicity. That is why he was appointed the commander-in-chief. Kafur had given sufficient evidence of his valour and courage in the wars on the north-western frontier. Wassaf says that Kafur's conquest of the Deccan threw into shade Mahmud of Ghazni's record in northern India. But it should be remembered that Kafur's success in the Deccan was very largely due to the farsighted policy of Alauddin. Mahmud never got any help comparable to what Kafur got from Ramachandra and Vir Ballala III. Mahmud plundered at will wherever he went and he never stayed his hand till he had vanquished the object of his wrath. But Kafur despite his best efforts could neither defeat Vir Pandya nor capture the fort of Warangal. Pratap Rudradeva did not care to meet him even. Thus the success of Kafur is by no means more glorious than that of Mahmud.

Alauddin had no doubt given Kafur the chief command of troops but he always kept him under control. He invariably associated with him some other leading nobles so that he should have no chance for treason as Alauddin had had. He had also directed him to act in consultation with his companions and to do nothing that might land them in a foreign land into difficulties born of mutual quarrels.

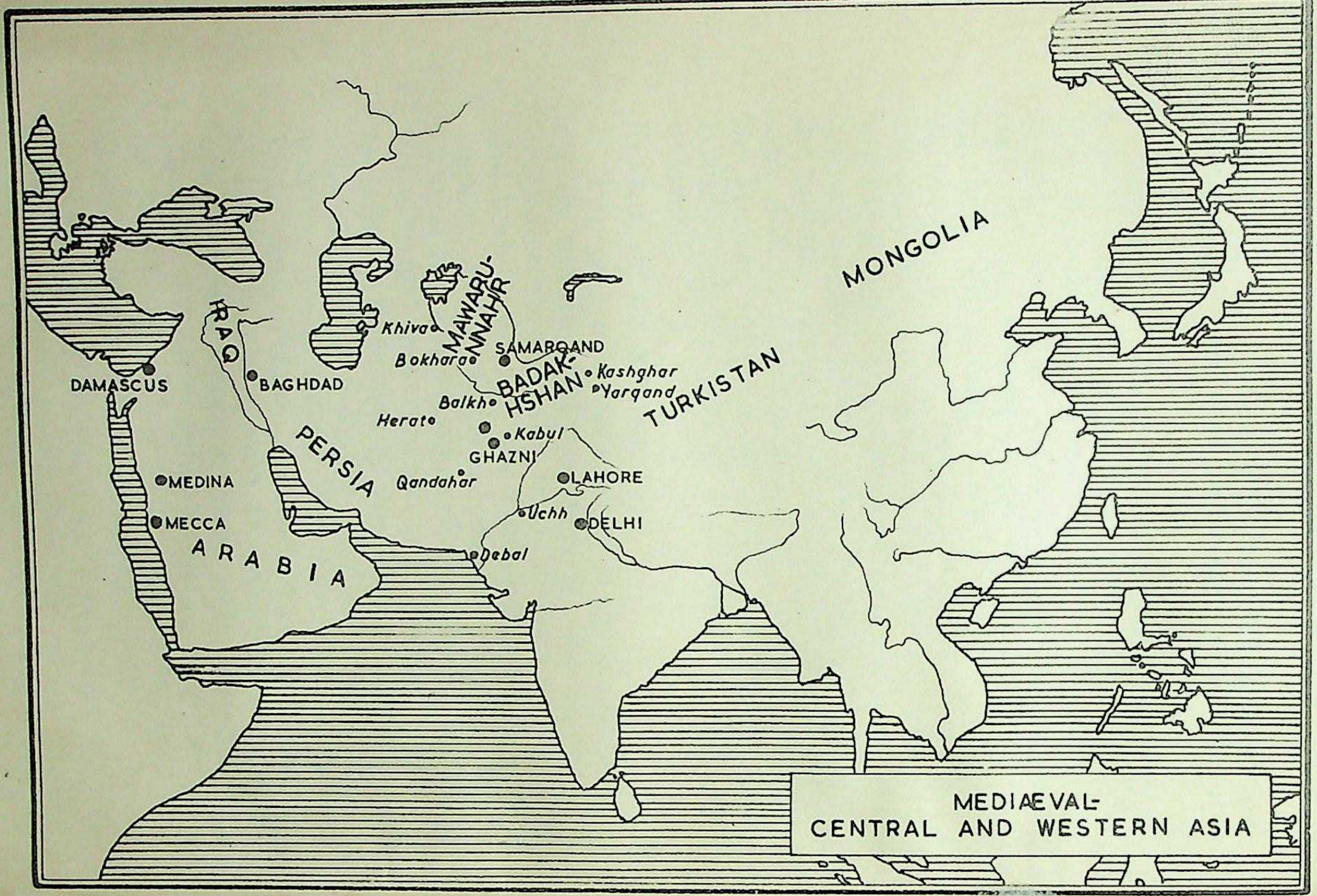
The conquest of the Deccan brought to northern India a large quantity of wealth. Not only Alauddin but even his successors had no financial worry. Assertion of Sultan's suzerainty over the south and visit of Ramachandra and Vir Ballala to Delhi enhanced his prestige. But the rulers as well as the ruled in the Deccan suffered heavily. A depleted treasury added to the worries of the state and taxes had to be increased in order to meet the cost of administration and payment of tribute to the Sultan. A number of celebrated Hindu temples were destroyed and because of Muslim conquest of the Deccan the number of Muslims increased and Islamic culture exercised a progressively wider influence.

EXTENT OF HIS EMPIRE:

The foregoing account of wars of conquest indicates the limits of the Sultan's empire. On the north-western side, the Indus formed the boundary and both Sindh and the Punjab formed part of his empire. Over Gujerat, modern U. P., Malwa, Central India and Rajputana also he had established his personal government and most of the land included in these regions was subject to his authority. The states south of the Narbada were held by tributary vassal chiefs. But there is no evidence of Bihar and Bengal acknowledging his authority. Alauddin felt so proud of these victories that he called himself a second Alexander. Amir Khusrau has used numerous epithets along with his name and he prefers calling him the caliph of the age.

RELATIONS WITH THE MONGOLS:

India has witnessed other conquerors also. But Alauddin's success becomes far more creditable when it is remembered that while these conquests



MEDIÆVAL-
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MONGOLIA
TURKISTAN
MAWARU-NNAHR
SAMARQAND
Khiva
Bokhara
BADAKHSHAN
Kashghar
Yarqand
Balkh
Herat
Kabul
GHAZNI
Qandahar
LAHORE
Uchh
DELHI
Debal
PERSIA
IRAQ
BAGHDAD
DAMASCUS
MEDINA
MECCA
ARABIA

were going on, Alauddin had to face formidable foreign invasions as well. The Mongol invasions in the time of Alauddin were far more dangerous than under Balban. But while Balban was so terrified that he dared not leave the capital, Alauddin without interfering with the course of conquests made such an excellent arrangement on the frontiers after defeating the Mongols that the fear of their invasions was considerably reduced.

MONGOL INVASIONS:

After the death of Changez, his successors founded a number of independent states mutually hostile to one another. The invasions in the time of Balban and Jalaluddin were led by the servants of the Ilkhans of Persia. But in the reign of Alauddin, it was Daud Khan (1272-1306) the ruler of Central Asia who sent repeated invasions into India. He wished to put an end to the power of the Ilkhans. With this object in view, he captured Ghazni which brought him very close to the frontiers of India. When he heard the news of Jalaluddin's murder, he thought of sending a large army into India for capturing the Sultanate of Delhi before the new ruler had consolidated his position. Therefore he sent his invading armies six times between 1297 and 1306 and Alauddin had to face serious difficulties because of them.

KADAR (1297-1298):

The first Mongol invasion came off in 1297 when Kadar led into India an army of 1,00,000 soldiers. He aimed at occupying Sindh, Multan and the Punjab. He rushed forward to Lahore, plundering and pillaging on the way. Alauddin sent Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan against him. They engaged them near Jalandhar and inflicted such severe losses on them that they lost 20,000 in killed and wounded while numerous Mongols along with their women and children were captured.

They were all killed and their heads were sent to Alauddin.

SALDI (1298-1299):

This defeat stung Daud to the quick and he sent the following year another army under Saldi to avenge it. It entered Sindh and seized Siwistan (Sehwan?). Alauddin sent Zafar Khan against him. The latter besieged the fort, captured the Mongol chiefs and carried them to Delhi. His success was so marvellous that both Ulugh Khan and the Sultan became jealous of him rather than be pleased with him.

QUTLUGH KHWAJA (1299):

This second defeat caused further annoyance to Daud who now sent 2 lakhs of soldiers under his able son Qutlugh Khwaja. He crossed the Indus without encountering any serious opposition and proceeded at such tremendous speed towards Delhi that the frontier garrisons failed to hold up his advance anywhere. The Mongols did not tarry anywhere on the way because they had set before themselves the goal of capturing the capital and rolling up the Sultanate of Delhi for good. To escape the horrors of a Mongol advance, the people lying on their route fled to Delhi. The Mongols tried to cut off supplies which added to the sufferings of the citizens of Delhi.

Alauddin called a council of war to settle his strategy. Alaulmulk recommended a defensive war. But the Sultan rejected his advice and said that if he shut himself inside the fort his credit would sink so low that he would neither be able to show his face in the harem nor direct the affairs of government. He therefore decided in favour of an open engagement. Urgent summons were sent to all provincial governors to come to the capital with their respective contingents.

When necessary preparations had been made, Alauddin launched an attack on the Mongols. Qutlugh Khwaja placed the right flank under Tamar Bugha while Hajlak held the left. He himself commanded the centre. Alauddin deputed Zafar Khan on the right and Ulugh Khan on the left while he himself assisted by Nusrat Khan held the centre. A reserve was set apart and placed under Ulugh Khan who was charged with the responsibility of using it wherever reinforcement was deemed necessary. Other generals were ordered not to leave their posts without previous instructions to the contrary. The day began with a fierce onslaught on either side all along the front. The Mongols attacked the right and the centre with great violence but Zafar Khan and his son Diler Khan launched such a vigorous counter-offensive that the Mongols were forced to fall back. Zafar Khan pressed this advantage home and forced them to break the engagement and flee. But he threw discretion to the winds when he went as far as 18 Kos in pursuit of them. As he turned back, he found his way cut off by the familiar ambuscade party of ten thousand. The Sultan sent him no reinforcements and he was killed. Qutlugh Khwaja fell ill on the way and died.

TARGHI (1303):

Within three years there had been as many fierce Mongol invasions. But the soldiers of Alauddin had always got the better of them and had inflicted severe losses on them, killing thousands of Mongols and their women and children. This made Mongols shy of attack for some time and upto 1303 there was no Mongol invasion. Besides, Daud was much too busy during this period with his wars in Central Asia. Relieved from there, he sent Targhi at the head of an army of 1,20,000 soldiers. Targhi was specially chosen for this job because he was an excellent general and had previous first-hand knowledge of India.

Targhi followed the strategy of the last campaign and dashed on towards Delhi at such speed that it became impossible to hold him up on the way. Alauddin was at the moment besieging Chitor and he had sent away an army to Bengal and Warangal. Consequently when he hastily returned to Delhi he found that he did not have adequate forces for meeting the enemy in battle. Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan who had wide experience of Mongol tactics were already dead. The Mongols tightened their stranglehold on Delhi so effectively that reinforcements could not reach him from any quarter. Alauddin took defensive precautions around his camp but he had little hope of success this time. He, therefore, beseeched Nizamuddin Auliya to pray to god to avert the Mongol danger. The citizens of Delhi were in a state of panic and were engaged in constant prayers to escape the horrors of a Mongol occupation. All of a sudden, after a close siege of over 40 days, the Mongols one day struck camp and retreated home.

ALI BEG, TARTAQ AND TARGHI (1305):

Mongols returned to the fray again in 1305. The chief command was this time entrusted to Ali Beg, and he was accompanied by Tartaq and Targhi. Their movement was carefully directed but fates were against them. Targhi was killed on the way. Other generals rushed on to Amroha but their retreat was cut off by Malik Naik, a Hindu convert, whom Alauddin sent against them at the head of 30,000 horse. The Mongols suffered another defeat and their leaders along with 8000 soldiers were captured. The captives were paraded through the streets of Delhi and then tortured to death.

IQBALMANDA (1306-1307):

The last important Mongol invasion took place in 1306 when Iqbalmanda and Kubak led an army of about 50,000 into India. They divided themselves into two groups. Kubak took the northerly route with an intent to reach the Ravi. Iqbalmanda took a slightly southerly route and reached as far as Nagor. Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik first intercepted Kubak on the Ravi, inflicted a defeat on him and made him a captive. Next they turned against Iqbalmanda and overtaking him at Nagor delivered such a sharp attack that it was with difficulty that Iqbalmanda could save his life while practically the whole of his army was annihilated, leaving a remnant of 3000 survivors alone. After this, the Mongols never led any large force into India for the next twenty years. Daud himself died in 1306 and a war of succession started. Mutual quarrels of Mongol states became more intensified after Daud's death and they had no leisure to think of anywhere beyond central Asia.

MONGOL POLICY OF ALAUDDIN:

Alauddin's strategy for checking and defeating the Mongols was largely based on the policy of Balban. But he made certain changes and improvements as well. Like Balban he too repaired old forts and built new ones wherever necessary. During this period, the Mongols had pressed forward to the capital itself. Therefore he took special precautions for the security of the capital. A new fort was built at Siri and the Delhi fort was repaired and improved. For the defence of these forts as well as for conquest and internal security, he raised an enormous army of 4,75,000 soldiers. For keeping the army efficient and active, he introduced regular parades, periodical inspection of troops and branding of horses. For improving the strength, mobility and stamina of his cavalry, he purchased horses of finer breeds and arranged for breeding quality horses in the royal stables. The army was distributed all over the empire but the capital and the frontier outposts were garrisoned by the pick of the army. He invented and improved some war-weapons too such as stone-throwing machines or catapults. He adapted his tactics to the needs of the hour and sometimes threw pallisades or sank ditches for the protection of his troops. He made judicious use of elephants. He had special informers for finding out true state of affairs in the enemy camp. To keep his generals alert and faithful, he adopted a number of measures such as, effective espionage, improvement in means of communication and institution of postal arrangements. He knew the mettle of Mongol soldiers. That is why he appointed his best generals on the frontier who were noted for their wide experience and indomitable courage. Zafar Khan, Ulugh Khan, Ghazi Malik, Malik Naik and Malik Kafur were known to, and feared by, the Mongols. When a Mongol horse would refuse water, they used to say 'Hast thou seen Zafar Khan?' It was because of the high abilities of his generals that Alauddin was able to beat back the enemy again and again. To overawe and frighten the Mongols, he inflicted ruthless tortures on Mongol captives and had towers built of their heads. Inspite of all this, Mongols continued to pour in as long as Daud was alive. When on his death Mongol power showed signs of weakness, Ghazi Malik started his annual raids into their territory. Thus having remained on the defensive till 1306, Alauddin took the offensive against them after that year and struck such terror in their hearts that they disabused their minds of invading India altogether.

LIMITS TO HIS SUCCESS:

Alauddin had rolled back the Mongols each time and had inflicted crushing defeats on them except on one occasion. He captured their leaders and punished them severely. He did not allow the Mongols to find a footing in the Punjab and drove them away beyond the Indus. But he could not seal his frontier against them. Twice had the Mongols laid seige to Delhi, once they had penetrated as far deep as Amroha while on another occasion they had reached Nagor in Rajasthan. The besieging army in 1303 was so powerful that even Alauddin had dismayed for safety. Therefore while conceding that Alauddin was always victorious against the Mongols, it cannot be gainsaid that the cause of their defeat was not the excellent arrangement on the frontiers but the courage, ability and vigour of his generals and soldiers.

CAUSES OF MONGOL DEFEAT:

There were other causes too which contributed to the defeat of the Mongols. Alauddin's star was on the ascendant so that during hours of crisis something turned up which brought success to him. The masses, terribly afraid of Mongol barbarities, offered all cooperation to the Sultan against them. This also rendered the task of the Mongols more difficult than before. Besides, many evils had crept into the organisation of the Mongols. They were engaged in internecine quarrels so that nothing to speak of the total strength of the Mongols as a whole, full resources of even a single Mongol state could not be used against India because it had to provide simultaneously for defence against its neighbours. In the second place, the Mongols had acquired so much wealth and territory that they were leading a life of luxury and ease so that their former vigour, capacity and endurance were lost. They were no longer the invincibles of the days of Changez. Thirdly, the Mongols carried their women and children with them. This reduced their speed and made them more vulnerable against the enemy.

Presence of so many non-combatants complicated problems of supplies also. Lastly, Mongols would not stay for long in any theatre of war and their incapacity for laying successful sieges was proverbial.

EFFECT OF MONGOL INVASIONS:

These invasions exercised a powerful influence on the position of the sovereign and the people of India. In order to terrorise the people into submissions, Mongols inflicted on them great cruelties. Numerous towns and villages were destroyed, thousands and even lakhs of people were massacred and property worth crores was seized. Because of the fear of the Mongols, popular attitude towards the Sultan became more respectful. This added to the strength of the sovereign. Increase in the strength of the army affected the complexion of the government and Sultan became a military autocrat. The military and administrative reforms introduced by the Sultan as a defence against the Mongols also added to his autocracy. The army raised to fight the Mongols entailed heavy expenditure. To meet this as well as to provide practical training to the army, the Sultan followed a policy of extensive conquests. Thus the fear of the Mongols, indirectly led to the expansion of the empire. The character of the Sultan also underwent a change. Formerly he used to talk of world conquest and foundation of a new religion. But he now became a hard realist. Alauddin was also able to get rid of inconvenient generals by throwing them against the Mongols. In the early part of his reign most of the Jalali nobles were deputed on the north-western frontier and got killed there. Later, when his suspicions were aroused by the valour and ability of Zafar Khan, he got him killed by the Mongols by omitting to send a relieving force for his assistance. Thus the Mongol invasions did more good than harm to Alauddin.

REFORMS OF ALAUDDIN:

If Alauddin's work were confined to conquests alone, even then he would have ranked among the great Sultans of Delhi. But he was no mere militarist. He introduced many valuable changes in the military and civil organisation of the state and he adopted a number of measures to improve the morals of his people.

FEAR OF REBELLION:

Alauddin had secured the throne by murder. He had therefore a constant apprehension that the Jalali nobles might at any time rise against him. Secondly, in the absence of any definite law of succession anybody could aspire to capture the throne by a successful revolution. Past history of the Sultanate bore ample evidence of this. Before the Ranthambhor campaign, the Sultan did not have to face any rebellion. Only Mongol converts had mutinied near Jalor and they had been easily suppressed. During Ranthambhor campaign Aqat Khan had almost succeeded in assassinating him, Umar and Mangu had sought to become independent and Haji Maula had not only captured the capital but had started ruling the state on behalf of a puppet whom he had placed on the throne. All this forced Alauddin to think furiously about the security of his life and integrity of his empire.

CAUSES OF REBELLION:

He therefore called a meeting of his principal nobles and discussed with them the causes of revolt. The assembly came to the conclusion that one of the principal causes of rebellion was lack of direct contact between the ruler and the ruled so that there was a deep-seated belief among the people that the king was utterly unconcerned about their welfare. They therefore remain apathetic towards the Sultan or because of the influence of local people even turn hostile. Consequently, when any governor rises into rebellion, the local population either collaborates with him or remains a silent spectator of things and offers no resistance to him. Hindu leaders such as Muqaddams, Chaudhris, barons, chiefs etc., find dependence galling and seek utmost independence. They therefore try to amass wealth, use it for recruiting personal followers and in pursuance of their own selfish interests join any local rebel against the Sultan.

In the second place, there is insufficient control of the centre over local officers. They are, therefore, free to save money which they utilise in preparing for rebellion. Besides, powerful nobles give feasts to one another where wine is freely served. Under the influence of liquor they start speaking out treason and this gradually leads to the formation of dangerous conspiracies. Lastly, nobles are free to contract marriages according to their own sweet will. This leads to formation of powerful groups which affects the power of the sovereign and it often happens that if action is contemplated against one person scores of other nobles might take up his cause so that for fear of their joint opposition, the Sultan has often to overlook their faults and to follow a weak-kneed policy.

LAWS AGAINST THE NOBILITY:

The Sultan made a number of laws to keep the nobles under control. He prohibited public manufacture or sale of wine. Use of wine in feasts or private gatherings was declared a penal offence. When habitual addicts pleaded their case before the Sultan, they were issued special individual licenses for manufacturing it in the privacy of their own houses and taking it in utter privacy without any companions. The nobles were also forbidden to fix up marriages without obtaining previous approval of the Sultan. A similar restriction was placed on feasts and festive gatherings. He had the accounts of local officers strictly audited and left them no more money than was essential for a decent living. He assumed control over the local contingents also. Their recruitment, posting, discipline, transfer, promotion etc., now rested in the hands of the sovereign. He stopped paying the soldiers in land and introduced cash salaries. At the same time, he tried to scrutinise whether the local governors maintained the stipulated number of troops and paid them regularly and in full or not. This considerably axed the military autonomy of local officers and provincial governors. He instituted an efficient espionage. All over the empire there was a net-work of diligent informers who tried to find out all persons of doubtful loyalties and sent reports of their conduct to the Sultan. To ensure rapid delivery of such reports, the Sultan established news-carriers at convenient centres and improved communications between important towns and forts. Similar laws were made against Hindu chiefs also, a reference to which would be made later and he tried to wean the masses away from them by showing greater concern for their protection and welfare. The Sultan also made it a rule to get rid of all suspects by whatever means possible so that there may be no complications in future.

JALALI NOBLES:

He thus completely weeded out Jalali turn-coats who had joined him in consideration of gold or office. They were all charged with treason against their former master and all their property was confiscated. They were then seized, blinded and thrown into prison where they later died.

OTHER NOBLES:

As indicated earlier, he had planned to send Zafar Khan to Bengal when his suspicions were aroused against him. He had even thought of poisoning him. But to his great relief he was killein course of fighting against the Mongols. If the Sultan had sent him timely aid, he might have succeeded in breaking the Mongol trap. But the Sultan preferred his death to victory. He therefore let him alone and when news was brought of his death, he showed no regrets. Instead, he charged him with insubordination in pursuing the enemy without reference to the Sultan. Similarly, when the Sultan learnt that during the Ranthambhor campaign Ulugh Khan on receiving the report of his alleged murder by Aqat Khan had remarked that there was nothing to worry even if he was dead for his brother was still alive to take his place, he became suspicious about his intentions and desired his death. He is therefore said to have poisoned him when he was proceeding from Ranthambhor to Delhi. This shows that the Sultan was unwilling to spare even his own brother. Third great general of Alauddin's early days was Nusrat Khan. He was appointed *Kotwal* of Delhi in 1297. He treated everybody with such severity that he became a general terror to all. He was, therefore replaced by Alaulmulk. During his last years, his ears were poisoned against Alap Khan and he allowed Kafur to have him murdered. It was only on grounds of suspicion that he had thrown his own sons into prison. Alauddin also took another deadly precaution. Whenever there was a rebellion, not only active participants but all those who were in any way connected with the rebel were also punished lest they should have had a hand in inciting or aiding him. Punishing women and children of culprits had become something like a penal ritual of the day. The extreme example of this was the murder of Fakhruddin's descendants simply because Haji Maula, the rebel, had once been in his employ. This indicates to what lengths the Sultan was willing to go in the interests of his own security and peace of the realm.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE:

Alauddin made satisfactory arrangements for the administration of justice also. Before his time, all legislation was based on the *shariat*. Alauddin did not repudiate the *shariat* but he enunciated the principle that state laws should conform to needs of the hour and interests of the people. Thus laws of the state which had so far been sectarian and communal became national. To ensure speedy and efficient justice, he increased the number of judges and although some of them were not quite fit for their office, most of them were learned, incorruptible and efficient. For the assistance of the judges, a police force was also organised. Every town had a *kotwal* who was head of the local police as well. There was an intelligence staff also which helped in detection of crimes and apprehension of criminals. Alauddin's spies were so efficient that nothing escaped their eyes and ears. Even the greater barons were afraid of talking freely in their houses. The penal laws of the time provided for severe punishments such as visiting the crime of one on the many, cutting eyeballs out of their sockets, mutilation, torture to secure confessions and imprisonment in such horrible jails that few survived the period of their imprisonment. Alauddin had thus exceeded the severity even of Balban's penal code.

MILITARY REFORMS:

Most of the reforms relating to the armed forces have been mentioned already either in connection with the Mongols or measures against the nobility. Like armies of the past, his army also contained cavalry, infantry and elephantry. Cavalry was still the mainstay of the army. The Sultan therefore tried to perfect this branch of the army. He imported quality horses, secured a number of good horses from the Mongol killed and wounded and from the Deccan states also he tried to secure some of their best horses and elephants. He also tried to breed good horses inside the land. Soldiers did not always maintain good horses. The Sultan took various measures to ensure this. He branded the horses so that substitution should not be possible. The soldiers that brought their own horses received a higher salary while those who maintained two horses got an extra allowance for that. Barani's statements about the salaries of the soldiers have been misunderstood by Ferishta and other later authors. But consideration of the entire available data suggests that the Sultan paid 78 tankas a year for the maintenance of an additional horse. To make sure that the soldier and his mount were in a fit state, he held occasional musters of troops. In order to bring the army under his implicit obedience, he made it a central institution directly under the charge of the Sultan. He approved all recruitments to the army and paid cash salaries to soldiers from the royal exchequer. Only those were eligible for recruitment who were well-versed in riding, fencing and use of war-weapons. There was perhaps no special provision for regular parades. The proper place for training was the field of battle itself. Hence in order to keep the army efficient, war had to be constantly carried on in one sphere or the other. During intervals of peace he employed the soldiery, as under Balban, in hunting parties.

We have no knowledge about the internal organisation of the army. May be between the ordinary trooper and the local regimental or divisional commander there were no intermediate officers and at the time of war the Sultan nominated one of them as commander-in-chief. The chief of military staff was called *Ariz-i-mumalik*. During the Warangal expedition, the *Ariz* was placed under Kafur. When the Sultan was personally present, he acted as the commander-in-chief. Seniority in the army was probably determined by the number of troops assigned to an officer and this latter depended on the personality of the nobleman concerned, importance of the fort or the province held by him and the attitude of the people whom he had to govern.

Similarly, there is difference of opinion among scholars about the salaries of various grades of soldiers. The salary of a foot soldier was probably 78 tankas a year. A trooper who had no horse of his own and was supplied one by the state, maintained at its own expense, received 156 tankas a year. If a soldier furnished and maintained a horse himself, he received 234 tankas a year. Those who maintained two horses got 78 tankas extra that is 312 tankas a year.

MARKET REGULATIONS:

The rates of salary mentioned above were not adequate for a comfortable living. But the Sultan was unwilling to increase them. Hence he tried the alternative method of increasing the purchasing power of the tanka by price control and regulation of markets. He fixed prices of all articles of daily use and took special measures to enforce the schedule of prices on all traders and merchants. He had also to provide for strict adherence to rules so that there may be no loop-holes in the scheme.

OFFICERS OF THE MARKET:

The entire scheme of market regulation was entrusted to the care of a *diwan-i-riyasat* and he appointed Yaqub to fill this office. For different trades a separate market was instituted and was placed under a separate *shahna*. Malik Qabul was the *shahna* in the grain market while Yaqub himself acted as the *shahna* in the cloth market. There were similar *shahnas* for horse-market, cattle-market etc. Below the *shahnas* there were a number of *barids* who checked prices, weights and measures and supervised general arrangements of the market and sent daily reports to the Sultan. There were some secret reporters also. They were called *munhias*. They too sent their reports but direct to the Sultan.

ORGANISATION OF MARKETS:

Each market had some special problems of its own but there were some common problems too. As the Sultan had reduced the prices of all commodities, it was possible that merchants might refuse to sell their goods at those prices or they might create artificial scarcity and attribute it to price control so that the people themselves might oppose the whole scheme. Brokers lost their employment because prices had been permanently fixed. They were a class of clever people who had been charging a commission both from the seller and the buyer. Having lost their trade, they might instigate the traders to create difficulties. Famine, drought or reduced imports might also create problems. The merchants might outwardly agree to conform to rules and yet they might defraud the people by underweighment, under-measuring or substitution of a lower grade article for a higher grade one.

The Sultan issued detailed regulations to meet the various difficulties and problems. Merchants were classified broadly into two categories—(1) importers who supplied the wants of local markets, (2) wholesalers and retailers who had their shops in the market and dealt with the consumers. Lists of merchants of both the categories for each trade were prepared and each one of them was asked to apply for a trading license. They gave written undertakings to bring the requisite commodities in sufficient quantity at the right time and to sell them at prices fixed by the state. They were then issued licenses for trade. They were asked to bring their women and children to the capital and they were given clearly to understand that if there was any trouble in the marketing arrangements because of their individual or collective action, they will all be held responsible for this and not only they but their women and children would also be punished for this. On proper supplies and distribution depended the life of lacs of people. The Sultan was determined to inflict the severest punishment on those who played with the lives of people. The result was that ordinarily supplies never ran short. The brokers were driven out of the market on pain of severe punishment in case they were found anywhere near or in the market. Costly and rare articles such as fine silks, woollens, brocades, cosmetics etc., could be had only by special permits issued on the basis of applications submitted to *Diwan-i-riyasat* stating the quantity needed and the purpose for which it was required. It was enquired into whether the buyer really wanted the commodity for his own use. If it was discovered that he had indulged in black-marketing he was severely taken to task for this. Grain was kept in reserve in government stores and was supplied to the merchants to tide over difficulties resultant from famines and droughts. During emergencies, recourse was had to rationing and no family on such occasions was supplied more than 6 or 7 seers of cereals at a time. To keep an eye over the traders and to keep them on the right path, there were secret and public informers and inspectors. Merchants were heavily punished if even the slightest irregularity was detected. Public whipping, kicking them out of the market, making up deficiency in weightment by cutting from the trader's haunches an equal quantity of flesh, were some of the usual punishments. Consequently, although in the beginning the traders offered some opposition but later they reconciled themselves to low profits and obeyed the regulations of the state as long as Alauddin was alive. The Sultan assured to the traders certain privileges and facilities also. Their margin of profits was no doubt reduced but there was no apprehension of loss in any contingency. Whenever necessary he advanced them loans for purchase of articles and if the cost price was higher than the fixed price for sale, the trader was allowed a certain percentage on the total sale and the entire loss of the transaction was borne by the state. In regard to purchases from towns or villages, the Sultan issued orders to local officers to procure the article or articles in question from the original producer at rates fixed by the government for the purpose. The merchant was thus saved the bother of haggling for prices. Copies of schedules of prices were supplied to *shahnas*, *barids*, *munhias*, traders and the *Diwan-i-riyasat*. The merchants did not have to waste time and energy in effecting sales to the customers.

The rates for cereals fixed by the Sultan included the following:

Wheat	7½ jitals per md.	1 md. = 12-14 sers in modern weight.
Barley	4 " "	1 silver tanka = 64 jitals (Thomas)
Gram, Rice and Urd	5 jitals per md.	1 " " = 48 jitals (Nelson Wright).

Names of all those who dealt with carrying trade in cereals were registered in the office of Malik Qabul. Those who supplied the wants of Delhi were permitted to purchase it from Bayana and Doab. Local officers were instructed to direct the tenants to retain only as much grain as was needed for their domestic use and to sell away all surpluses just after husking and winnowing was over. Name of the merchant and the rate of procurement were also mentioned in the same farman. Those who did not wish to part with their grain were first persuaded to do so. But if gentle persuasion had no effect, their corn was forcibly seized and they were suitably punished. In order to keep the royal stores fully stocked, he made it a rule that in the Doab land revenue should be realized in kind instead of in cash. Whenever supplies ran short or were disrupted because of failure of crops or some other reason, merchants and citizens were supplied their wants from just these stores. Because of these various measures, there was no shortage or scarcity of grains at any time. Residents of neighbouring villages also purchased cheap corn from the regulated markets. This practically solved the problem of food.

CLOTH MARKET:

Cloth was comparatively dear. If the cloth-dealers sold at government rates, they were likely to suffer a loss. Consequently nobody was willing to take a license for cloth-dealer. Alauddin, therefore, assigned this trade to Multani dealers on special terms. They undertook the work more or less as state agents and were paid on a commission basis. They were given advances from state treasury for purchase of cloth at whatever rates available. After selling it at rates fixed by the Sultan, they deposited the sale proceeds in the state treasury and received from the government a commission irrespective of profit or loss. Thus government had to start a sort of state trading in cloth. Ordinary or coarse cloth was fairly cheap. But fine cloth and silks were very costly. The rates quoted by Barani include the following:

Delhi silk	16	tankas	per piece
Silhati fine	6	,,	,,
,, middling	4	,,	,,
,, coarse	2	,,	,,
Longcloth fine	1	tanka	per 20 yds.
,, coarse	1	,,	,, 40 ,,
Bedsheets	10	jitals	per piece

OTHER COMMODITIES:

Similarly, prices of other necessaries of life were also fixed and satisfactory arrangements were made for their wholesale and retail trade. Some of the rates were as follows:

Horses (first grade)	100–120	tankas	each
Horses (second grade)	80–90	,,	,,
Horses (third grade)	65–70	,,	,,
Ponies	10–25	,,	,,
Cows (first grade)	10–12	,,	,,
,, (ordinary)	3–4	,,	,,
Maidservant (good looking)	20–40	,,	,,
,, (ordinary)	5–12	,,	,,
Boy-servants	20–30	,,	,,

THE CONTROLLED AREA:

This price-control and regulation of markets applied to Delhi alone or to the whole empire is still a moot question. Barani sometimes seems to refer to Delhi alone while at other places he generalises for the whole empire. But the crucial thing to remember in this connection is that the Sultan had enforced price control essentially for the convenience of the army. The army was spread all over the empire and everywhere it received the same salary. Consequently, unless this applied to all cantonment towns, it could not meet the requirements of the army. It therefore stands to reason that either price-control applied to all provincial head-quarters and fort-towns where the entire arrangement was a mere replica of the arrangements at Delhi so that no special mention of each place was thought necessary or that the government made all its purchases for the army at Delhi and arranged for supply of commodities to the soldiers throughout the empire through the commissariat department of the army.

Alauddin's measures regarding price-control and regulation of markets could not be welcomed by the business community because it cut down profits and removed all chance of making special gains by fraud or personal ability. It is on record that during the earlier part of the reign there was considerable opposition to it. But Alauddin ultimately succeeded in enforcing his regulations because he ensured a constant flow of adequate supplies to the market and exercised strict supervision over the market and awarded deterrent punishments to all those who disregarded his orders. The officers of the state acted with great zeal and impartiality because of the fear of the Sultan and excellence of their personal character. But if they were found to be lax or lenient they too were punished like common offenders. Once when price of corn greatly appreciated, Malik Qabul recommended a slight enhancement in government rates. The Sultan felt that he had probably been bribed by the corn dealers. Consequently he had him publicly flogged for this little offence. The result was that all officers vigorously enforced royal regulations without any demur. The order to test the efficiency of government employees and the honesty of businessmen, the Sultan would occasionally send young boys for marketing and if there was anything wrong it was referred to the *Diwan-i-riyasat* who would take the dealer concerned severely to task. Thus nobody dared oppose the scheme enforced by the Sultan. The business community must have remained sullenly hostile because market regulations of the Sultan cut at the very root of the wealth of 'Big Business'.

LAND REVENUE POLICY:

The measures enumerated above deprived the nobility, business community and soldiery of all their superfluous wealth and they were left just enough to live in reasonable comfort. It was, therefore, too much to expect that the Sultan would leave landlords and peasants untouched. The Sultan introduced a number of important measures in this sphere also. He thought that those who owned landed property gradually became rich even without doing any hard work. They, therefore, grew proud and paid scant regard to royal regulations or local officials. If an attempt was made to punish them they rose in rebellion. According to an old Persian adage, wealth, women and land were the eternal causes of conflict among men and communities. Alauddin was determined to root out the evil completely.

His first regulation converted all the land of the empire into *Khalsa* (i. e. under direct control of the state). Thus all land held as *inam* (gift), *milk* (personal property) or *waqf* was resumed. The only concession allowed to some was that they were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their original holding. But they and their legal heirs were deprived of all rights of ownership.

CAUSES OF DIS-SATISFACTION AGAINST HINDU CHIEFS:

Beside Muslim landowners, there were many Hindu chiefs as well. There were a number of complaints against them. The Turkish state in India had established no direct contact with the peasant. The state realized its tax through local landlords and chiefs. Barani calls these middlemen *Muqaddams*, *Khots* and *Chaudhris*. They rack-rented the peasant and having paid a portion of their collections to the state officials misappropriated the rest themselves. Even when they paid state dues regularly, they realized the tax on their personal holding also from the tenantry of the village. They would sometimes engage in cattle-breeding and converted arable land into grazing fields for their private use alone. On this land also, they paid no tax, although they derived great profits from cattle trade. They had thus grown fairly rich. They would not submit to local Muslims and assumed great airs. They used fine cloths and gold ornaments, chewed betels, and went about riding on horses and withheld government dues as soon as the central power became weak. In case of rebellion by local Turkish officers, they whole-heartedly supported them in order to evade payment of taxes and secure a share in the general plunder.

MEASURES AGAINST THEM:

Alauddin resolved to put an end to the power, pelf and pride of these middlemen. He had accounts strictly audited and forced all local officers to clear all arrears. The latter in their turn dealt severely with all those middlemen who had been in arrears. If they evaded payment or put up opposition, the local unit of the army was employed against them and all their property was confiscated to the state. They were thus compelled to pay the usual taxes. He also ordered examination of patwari's papers in order to ascertain the size of individual holdings in each village. The middlemen were now forced to pay tax on their holdings themselves. They were also required to pay a grazing tax on the basis of heads of cattle owned by them. The *amils* were instructed to be particularly vigilant so that the patwari and the middlemen in collusion or separately should not oppress the tenants and realize in any shape or form more than what is due. All those who offended against this law were severely punished. The result was that local landowners submitted to the authority of the state and lost all their gold and silver so that, as Barani says, they found it difficult even to provide a square meal for their dependants. All their vanity and pride disappeared and they were reduced to the status of ordinary tenants.

THE LAND-TAX:

In the central region of the empire, land revenue was assessed on the basis of measurement and the share of the government was fixed at ½ of the produce. This comprised Delhi, Palam, Rewari, Afghanpur, Amroha, Badaun, Koil, Katehar, Samana, Sunnam, Lahore and Dipalpur. Formerly land revenue could be paid both in cash and kind but when market-regulations were introduced, payment in kind was generally preferred by the Sultan. In portions of Malwa and Rajputana also the same system was enforced. But measurement could not be enforced in Awadh, Gujerat, Sindh and most of Malwa and Rajputana.

Realizing half of the produce was not contrary to Islamic law. But never before had the tax been so heavy in India. The village-folk had to pay *ghari* (house-tax ?) and *charai* (grazing tax ?) also. The peasant was not free to sell his produce at will even after he had made the above payments. He was under an obligation to retain only as much as was needed for the requirements of his family and to sell away all surpluses to the person named by the government at rates fixed by it. As a result of these various regulatians, the peasant also had to spend most of his time in making both the ends meet.

Why did the Sultan impose 50% as land tax? There is no unanimity of opinion in this regard. This however is undisputed that the general aim of Alauddin was to deprive all classes of their surplus wealth. He therefore enhanced the tax, where the soil was comparatively fertile. Military budget of the state had increased and expenditure on the court and the royal household had also shot up. This necessitated heavier taxation and the Sultan probably thought it best to enhance the land tax. Dr. Tripathi suggests that it might have appeared less heavy than it seems because the Sultan probably did not press for the *jizya*. The Sultan might have done so in pursuance of his secularisation of state policy and in the hope that the abolition of jizya would satisfy the people who would become better supporters of his regime. Qureshi is of opinion that as Alauddin had put down illegal exactions by Hindu Zamindars, *patwaris* and local officials, the burden on the taxpayer inspite of the enhancement could not have increased. On the contrary, his condition would have really changed for the better because he could purchase all his requirements at a much lower price after market regulations had been enforced and also because Alauddin had abolished many illegal imposts. But Dr. K. S. Lal asserts that Alauddin Khilji realized the *jizya*, *ghari* and *charai* in addition to 50% of the produce as land-tax. He says that the Sultan oppressed the Hindu masses with heavy taxes just as he had deprived the nobility and the merchants of all their superfluous wealth.

Similarly, there is some difference of opinion about *charai* (grazing tax) also. According to Barani, it was levied on all cattle heads going to the village commons. But Ferishta says that two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats were exempted from *charai*. Those who owned more than this minimum were alone liable to pay. If this were so, at least 90% of the local population would have been exempt from *charai*. It should have weighed only on those who were engaged in cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. Among the Hindu middlemen also there were many who had converted their fields into pastures and were engaged in cattle-trade. All such people formerly paid no taxes although they owned land and made profits out of it. Hence Alauddin levied taxes from them also.

State officials collected the taxes but they dealt with *Muqaddams*, *Chaudhris* and *Khots* and not directly with the tenants. There were serious charges of corruption against them. The Sultan increased their emoluments but punished all cases of bribery and corruption in an exemplary manner. Barani says that ten thousand *amils* and *karkuns* were thus punished and service in this department was considered so bad that only bolder spirits offered themselves for recruitment. People would not marry their daughters to employees of this department. Realization of taxes from the tenants still remained in the hands of former collectors but there was a great change in their status. They were deprived of all privileges except that they got a percentage of total collections and enjoyed a little local prestige. Consequently, royal influence now infiltrated down to the rural masses.

SOCIAL REFORMS :

Alauddin had considerably reduced the influence of the *ulema* in state-politics but this did not lead to as widespread discontent as in the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq or Akbar. There were many reasons for this. He still retained their monopoly in the appointments in the judicial department. Though he did not always accept their advice, he would often consult them about law. This satisfied their vanity. To demonstrate his enthusiasm for Islam, he introduced many social reforms as well. Reference has already been made to prohibition, sale and manufacture of wine. He closed down gambling dens and punished gamblers severely. Those who preyed on the ignorance of the masses and practised witchcraft were stoned to death. Adultery and prostitution were also sought to be suppressed and women convicted of adultery were punished with death. These social reforms won for the Sultan esteem and support of the theologians.

DEATH OF ALAUDDIN (1316) :

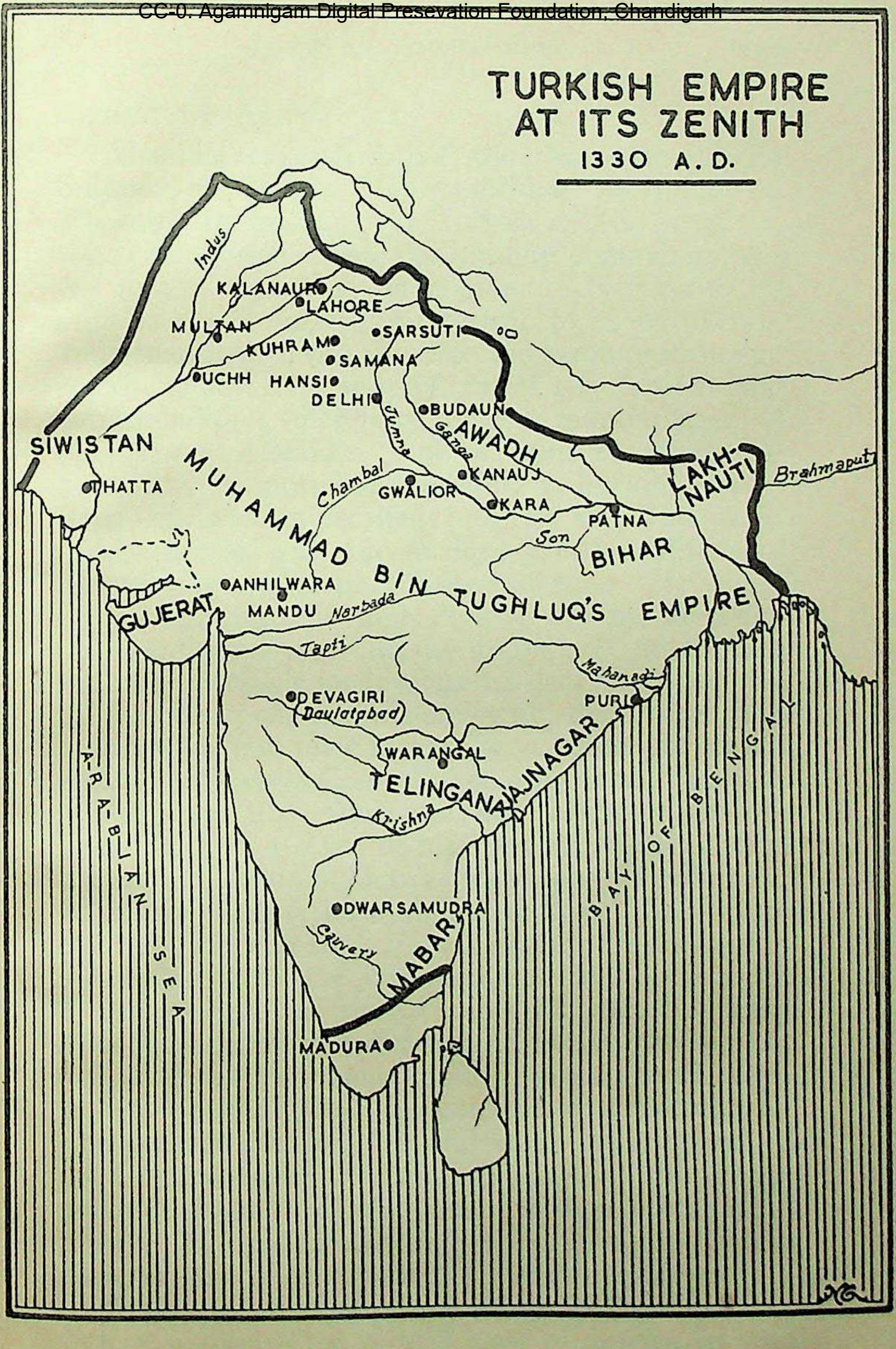
From 1292 to 1312 there was in the life of Alauddin a tide of successes and when the peak had been reached there began an ebb of failures. He had spoilt his health by inordinate indulgence in pleasures of the flesh. He began to age before his time. But he did not change his ways of life. An unhealthy body soon sapped his mental vigour and constant flattery by courtiers made him obstinate, irritable and fickle-minded.

His laws had offended all classes of people in one form or the other. Being informed of the Sultan's illness and failing health, they now started giving expression to their discontent. Distant provinces rose in revolt. Harpaladeva, the ruler of Devagiri asserted his independence as soon as Kafur had left the Deccan. Sisodiyas started their counter-offensive and forced Maldeva to surrender large parts of their kingdom. There were signs of rebellion in other regions also. All these reports caused great anguish to the ailing Sultan but he was helpless to do anything.

Unfortunately, his trustworthy lieutenants were also dead and those that survived were allowed no access to the Sultan because of the influence of Kafur. The most powerful man among the nobility was Malik Kafur who enjoyed the title of Taj-ul-mulk and the office of the *Wazir*. What was more, the Sultan had great infatuation for him and had begun to see things through his eyes alone. The rival of Kafur was Alap Khan, the governor of Gujerat whose sister Mahru was now the principal consort and enjoyed the title of Malika-i-jahan. Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Mahru had been declared heir-apparent to the throne although his capacity for that high office was much less than his fondness for luxury and pleasure. Consequently, after Alauddin's death, Alap Khan was bound to become the most powerful man in the state. Alap Khan had two daughters one of whom had married Khizr Khan and the other Shadi Khan. Kafur and Alap Khan had no love lost between them. Alauddin desired that his wife and children should pay all attention to him and do all that was possible for his rapid recovery. But to his chagrin, he found Mahru busy with the details af festivities attending the marriages of her sons. The heir-apparent, prince Khizr Khan was so engrossed in his love for Devalrani that he had no time to attend to anything else in the world. This neglect stung Alauddin to the quick and worsened his condition.

Kafur exploited this situation to his best advantage. Assured of the affection and dotage of the Sultan, he had opportunities of meeting him in utter privacy. At a convenient moment, he spoke against Alap Khan, Khizr Khan and Malika-i-jahan and insinuated that they were only waiting for his death. Alauddin would not readily believe it. But he was assailed by doubts and suspicions. Kafur took advantage of this state of his mind to secure the murder of Alap Khan. But he could not lay his hands on Alap Khan's brother. Kamaluddin, the assassinator of Alap Khan was appointed to succeed him in the government of Gujerat. But the people were in such a rage that they not only would not accept him but seized and killed him. Thus Gujerat too defied the authority of the central Government.

Kafur succeeded in poisoning the ears of the Sultan against Khizr Khan so that he was subjected to great indignities and was transferred to Amroha. He was later arrested and imprisoned at Gwalior from where he never emerged into freedom again. All these blows were too much for the weakening nerves of the ailing Sultan. Consequently he pined away to death in 1316. Maybe Kafur had poisoned him after securing all power into his own hands. Thus ended the career of this great conqueror and empire-builder.


TURKISH EMPIRE
AT ITS ZENITH
1330 A.D.
Indus
KALANAUR
LAHORE
MULTAN
SARSUTI
KUHRAM
SAMANA
UCHH
HANSI
DELHI
BUDAUN
Jumna
Ganga
AWADH
SIWISTAN
THATTA
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ'S EMPIRE
Chambal
KANAUJ
GWALIOR
KARA
LAKH-
NAUTI
Brahmaputra
PATNA
Son
BIHAR
ANHILWARA
MANDU
Narbada
GUJERAT
Tapti
Mahanadi
PURI
DEVAGIRI
(Daulatabad)
WARANGAL
TELINGANA
JAJNAGAR
Krishna
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
DWARSAMUDRA
Cauvery
MABAR
MADURA

ESTIMATE OF ALAUDDIN :

Alauddin was undoubtedly the greatest among the Sultans of Delhi. He established an undiluted despotism by bringing the Turkish nobles, the *ulema*, the Hindu landowners, the business community and the masses to a state of common subjection to his authority. He carried militarism to its apotheosis, and demonstrated what an able and resolute sovereign could achieve in the sphere of government and empire-building merely by a clever manipulation of the army. Alauddin was a man of great discernment, irrepressible courage and burning ambition. He was an excellent judge of men and much of his success was due to right selection of persons for carrying out his multifarious schemes. He would not compromise the high dignity of the sovereign but he was not so vain as to regard acceptance of other people's suggestions as derogatory to his pride. He took a decision with due care and deliberation but once it had been made he would stick to it regardless of consequences. He was neither vain and obstinate like Muhammad bin Tughluq nor a slave of his passions like Kaiqubad nor unduly afraid of Mongol incursions, like Balban. In many respects he anticipated Sher Shah. Just like him, he had risen from humblest beginnings to the high office of the sovereign and had no scruples in using whatever means suited his purpose. Like Sher Shah, he made novel experiments in government and adopted a religious policy which served as a model for him. But in courage and heroism he was perhaps greater. He initiated the conquest of the Deccan, drove the Mongols beyond the Indus and put an end to the fear of their invasions in future. His policy struck new lines and in many respects served as a model for Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sher Shah and Akbar. Price control and regulation of the market was unprecedented and yet it was a remarkable success so that black-marketing, bribery, corruption or breakdown of arrangement was unheard of. This speaks volumes in his favour.

Alauddin was an illiterate person but he made good this deficiency by occasionally consulting people learned in law. He had great respect for the principles of his faith but was never so indiscreet as to follow them blindly, regardless of time and place. Although an autocratic despot, he was generally impartial in his approach so that it was impossible to whip up passions against him on a racial or communal basis.

His methods were at times fiercely ruthless but it has been contended that in the then circumstances, it was impossible to govern with success without resort to such methods. It may be doubted whether a slightly milder policy would not have been equally effective. It may, however, be noted that Alauddin's hand fell principally on the oppressors of the people viz., the nobles, soldiers, merchants and landowners. It is therefore not impossible that the common people might have hailed it as a welcome relief to themselves.

Alauddin had his own faults. His personal character was not free from blemish. His relations with Kafur or his treatment of his first wife was according to Balban's standards, unworthy of a sovereign. He was selfish and arrogant, cruel and unscrupulous and his murder of Jalaluddin was his worst crime. In pursuance of his aims, he paid no heed to the sentiments and wishes of others. Nor was he very scrupulous in the observance of the principles of his faith in his personal life. It was expected of a Muslim sovereign to inspire respect for the faith by his personal conduct. But except prohibition there was nothing in the conduct of Alauddin to make him an ideal Musalman. In the face of these defects, he cannot be called a great man but his political and military triumphs do entitle him to high respect even though his success was personal and therefore impermanent. Except Sher Shah and Akbar, no Muslim sovereign of India can stand comparison with him and there is none superior to him except Akbar.

Further Readings (*Chapters* 7 & 8)

1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III.
2. K. S. Lal—History of the Khiljis, pp. 69-363.
3. Tripathi—pp. 48-54 and 255-267.
4. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
5. Ishwari Prasad—pp. 218-254.

CHAPTER VIII

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE KHILJI EMPIRE

SHIHABUDDIN UMAR (1316):

Kafur had secured the murder of Alap Khan and imprisonment of Malika Jahan and her two sons in the lifetime of Alauddin. Since then the Sultan had been completely under his influence. In order to perpetuate his power even after the Sultan's death, he decided to proclaim Shihabuddin as heir to the throne. He was born of the daughter of Raja Ramachandra. His accession was therefore likely to be welcomed by the Hindus. He therefore requested the Sultan to nominate him as his successor. The Sultan made no response but Kafur interpreted his silence as approval of the proposal and proclaimed him as successor to the throne. This done, he poisoned the Sultan to death. After spending a day of mourning for the deceased Sultan, he placed Shihabuddin Umar on the throne and married his widowed mother.

MURDER OF KAFUR:

Kafur now lived in a right royal style and exercised all powers of government like a Sultan. To consolidate his position, he lavished special honours on his own followers and had Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan blinded. Prince Mubarak was also thrown into prison. But the conduct of Kafur gave offence to many a nobleman who desired his downfall. Kafur would discuss with his intimate associates in the seclusion of the night plans for making his power more stable and extensive. It was felt that blinding of Mubarak Khan was also essential. Consequently, some *paiks* were deputed to do this job. But the prince was able to save himself by appealing to their sense of loyalty to the late Sultan and by offering them a costly necklace as a reward for their leaving his sight unimpaired. It later occurred to these *paiks* that they would meet with a certain death if Malik Naib came to know of their failure to carry out his instructions. Hence to save their own life, they thought it best to murder Kafur himself and succeeded in carrying their resolution into effect.

QUTBUDDIN MUBARAKSHAH (1316-1320):

Nobles at the court promptly brought Mubarak Khan out of the prison and entrusted the reins of government to him. Mubarak first accepted the office of the regent and carried on the government on behalf of his brother for about two months. During this period, he acted with indefatigable industry and perseverence, so that he won the confidence of all and sundry by his ability and mildness. Then he set aside his brother, threw him into prison and assumed full sovereignty himself under the style of Qutbuddin Mubarakshah.

After his coronation, he adopted measures which made him very popular with the people. He offered to his personal favourites high titles and exalted offices. Soldiers were given six months' salary as a gratuity. Those who had been sent into exile were permitted to return home while all prisoners except those under detention were granted a general amnesty. All measures of Alauddin which were described as prejudicial to public interest were changed or relaxed. He increased the stipends paid to recluses and saints and ordered a restitution of all *jagirs* to those who had been lately deprived of them. The penal code lost much of its severity and government employees were treated with generous consideration. He conciliated the business community by relaxing the market regulations and won the gratitude of the masses by reducing the taxes. But his liberality did not always lead to happy results. He conferred on one of his favourite slaves the title of Khusrau Khan and granted to him the jagir of Malik Naib. A few months later he was appointed the *wazir*. This appointment caused discontent in certain quarters. Royal officers abused the lenience shown to them and relapsed into bribery and extortion to the great detriment of the common man. The husiness community suddenly raised the prices and reaped great profits. But on the whole the liberality of the Sultan proved beneficial to the people at large.

SUPPRESSION OF REVOLTS:

(1) *Gujerat.*—For two years after his accession, Mubarakshah acted with great devotion and promptitude. But later he gave himself up to indolence, sensuality and debauchery to such an extent that conspirators found it easy to engineer his murder. During the first two years, he earned a great renown by putting down all disturbances and revolts. He began by invading Gujerat where the authority of the Sultan had practically ceased ever since the murder of Alap Khan. In 1316, Ghazi Tughluq and Ain-ul-mulk Multani were deputed to put down the rebels in Gujerat. They sowed seeds of dissension among the rebels and then defeated them in detail. The Sultan appointed his father-in-law Zafar Khan as governor there. In 1318, the Sultan became suspicious about the motives of Zafar Khan because of his great popularity. He therefore procured his murder and appointed Hisam-uddin in his place. But when the people of Gujerat became violently hostile to him, he was replaced by Wahid-ud-din Qureshi.

(2) *Devagiri.*--In 1318, the Sultan went personally to the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Harpaladeva. He was accompanied by Khusrau Khan also. Harpaladeva abandoned his capital and in collaboration with his minister, Raghava, started collecting troops

in a safe retreat. But the Sultan finally succeeded in inflicting a defeat on them and making Harpaladeva a prisoner. He was flayed alive and the kingdom of Devagiri was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi. Malik Yaklakhi was appointed its first governor. Yaklakhi tried to throw off the yoke of Delhi but he was defeated, captured and sent to Delhi where his nose and ears were cut off. Ain-ul-mulk Multani succeeded him in the government of Devagiri.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE SULTAN:

Mubarakshah's debaucheries and licentiousness alienated the sympathies of his nobles who found his conduct revolting and despicable. There were many who were critical of Khusrau's sudden rise to preeminence. Discontent therefore began to mount up. Khusrau desired that the Sultan should be so completely engrossed in wine and women that all the power of the state should pass into his own hands. Mubarakshah was still a mere youth and the ways he had adopted were nothing very uncommon. But the Sultan carried frivolity and buffoonery to an extreme. He was dead drunk even at the time of audiences and sometimes came to the court dressed as a woman. Dancing girls and handsome slaves behaved outrageously with the grandees of the state in open durbar. They deeply resented this and felt greatly scandalised. They therefore tried to keep away from court in sullen discontent. The round of buffooneries and frivolities was often interspersed with cruel punishments. This accentuated discontent still further. Designing and ambitious people started conspiring against him.

Asaduddin a son of Malik Khamosh tried to murder the Sultan when he was returning from Devagiri. When Mubarak came to know of this, he ordered execution of all the conspirators and as a precautionary measure executed everybody who was in any way connected with the ruling family. A series of fearful murders followed and Zafar Khan, the Sultan's father-in-law, Shahin, all male descendants of Malik Khamosh and Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and other princes imprisoned at Gwalior fell a victim to the frenzy of the Sultan. This made the Sultan all the more unpopular. A little later, he forcibly married Devalrani which evoked much adverse comment.

Next conspiracy was organised by Khusrau Khan. After the occupation of Devagiri, the Sultan had despatched him against the rulers of Telingana and Mabar. He defeated Prataprudradeva and realized from him elephants, horses, gold, silver and precious jewels as indemnity of war. The Raja was then confirmed as a tributary vassal of the Sultan. He then invaded Mabar and secured a large booty from there also. It now crossed his mind to establish an independent kingdom for himself. But his colleagues reported to the Sultan his designs against the state. He was therefore summoned to the capital but when he presented before the Sultan the rich booty brought from the Deccan the latter felt so gratified that he not only absolved Khusrau of all guilt but punished the informers as jealous calumniators. This encouraged Khusrau to plan murder of the Sultan. One day he represented to the Sultan that the senior nobles were so jealous of him that when he went on a campaign in their company they not only did not heartily collaborate but thwarted his plans. Consequently he could never achieve as much success as was possible. If the Sultan permitted, he would recruit his own friends and kinsmen from Gujerat so that with their loyal co-operation he might secure complete success. The Sultan gave the necessary permission and Khusrau soon collected about 40,000 Barwaris. A few days later, the Sultan permitted him to bring his followers inside the palace during the night. It was now plain to everybody that murder of the Sultan was imminent. Qazi Ziyauddin, the *Vakil-i-dar* informed the Sultan of Khusrau's designs and requested him to take precautionary security measures. But he was under such a spell that he would not believe the Qazi and rebuked him for bringing baseless stories. When Khusrau went to the Sultan the latter informed him of what the Qazi had said. A number of self-seeking and disgruntled persons had joined Khusrau when they noticed his star to be on the ascendant. In consultation with them, he now decided that there should be no further delay in assassinating the Sultan. Consequently, at the appointed hour in the night one day, he went to the private apartment of the Sultan and engaged him in conversation. His fellow-conspirators entered the palace and a Barwari named Zahariya attacked and killed Qazi Ziyauddin and then rushed towards the royal apartment. The uproar that ensued alarmed Mubarakshah and he sought to escape into the female quarters. But Khusrau tried to hold him back. The Sultan threw him down but before he could disengage himself, Zahariya had arrived and he chopped off his head by a single stroke of his sword. With Mubarak's death, the Khilji empire came to an end.

NASIRUDDIN KHUSRAU (1320):

After murdering the Sultan, Khusrau summoned all the nobles in the capital to the palace and detained them there throughout the night. In the meantime his kinsmen and followers led by Randhola, Hisamuddin and Zahariya entered the harem. All princes of whatever ages were killed. Older women were put to the sword while the younger ladies were criminally assaulted and their modesty outraged. This terrified everybody and Khusrau was acknowledged ruler of the state. He seated himself on the throne under the style of Nasiruddin Khusraushah. He tried to safeguard his position by appointing his personal followers to high offices but the older nobility was also conciliated by conferment of new titles and confirmation in their former posts. Randhola received the title of *Ray-i-Rayan* while his brother Hisamuddin was made *Khan-i-Khanan*. Ain-ul-mulk Multani got the title of *Alim Khan* while Fakhruddin Juna Khan retained the office of *Akhurbeg*. Taj-ul-mulk and Wahid-ud-din Qureshi were appointed ministers in charge of the finance department.

DOWNFALL OF KHUSRAU:

Despite such generous treatment, the Alai nobles were not really reconciled to him. Some people disliked him because he had no blue blood in his veins. He was a member of the Barwari caste which though skilled in warfare was inferior in status to the Rajputs. He had begun his career as a slave and his relations with the late Sultan compromised his honour. Submission to such a person was regarded derogatory to the pride of the nobles. Others were not opposed to his usurpation of power but the methods adopted by him. They considered him ungrateful, cruel and ruthless because he had murdered the person responsible for elevating him to the office of the *Wazir* and had inflicted untold cruelties on members of his family. To others he was unacceptable because even after his conversion to Islam he had retained his Hindu leanings and had connived at the installation of Hindu deities inside the royal palace. Ziyauddin Barani was so dissatisfied with Khusrau that he has enumerated a series of charges against him. The most serious among these was persecution of the Muslims, degradation of Islam and promotion of Hinduism. Consequently, the number of his opponents rapidly increased. Malik Fakhruddin Juna fled the capital to join his father Ghazi Tughluq at Dipalpur. He carried with him the son of Bahram Aiba, the governor of Uchh. On Juna's reaching Dipalpur, Ghazi Malik invited the nobles on the north-western frontier and in Malwa to join him in a war against Khusrau. Bahram Aiba of Uchh, Muhammad Shah the governor of Siwistan and the Khokhar leaders Gulchandra and Sahajram came forward to assist him. Others either opposed the move of Ghazi Malik or remained indifferent. This suggests that a majority of Muslim nobles were reconciled to Khusrau and they felt that Ghazi Malik was inspired by political ambition rather than by service to Islam. They did not want to be duped by the cry of Islam in danger to replace Khusrau by the Tughluqs.

On the other hand, the flight of Juna Khan had warned Khusrau of the coming danger and he had started making military preparations. He allowed to the soldiers 2½ months' salary in advance and directed his brother Khan-i-Khanan to march at the head of 40,000 soldiers to meet the challenge of Ghazi Malik. But this army was defeated by Ghazi Malik who captured a large booty after the victory. Now the Sultan advanced at the head of the main army and fought the rebels in the vicinity of Delhi. At the first onslaught, the troops of Ghazi Malik were forced to yield ground but when it was rumoured that Ain-ul-mulk Multani had deserted the royalists and had marched away to Malwa at the head of his contingent, they got dispirited. Khusrau finally lost the day and was killed. Ghazi Malik now entered the capital and expressed a desire that if any descendant of Alauddin was alive he should be brought forward and placed on the throne. But when no such person was available, he agreed to mount the throne himself. Thus the Khilji dynasty come to an end for good.

CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF KHUSRAU :

Khusrau had a steep rise to fame by dint of his merit and the favour of Sultan Mubarakshah. The skill with which he won the confidence of the Sultan and finally brought about his assassination speaks of his sharp intelligence. But he committed a blunder in giving a free rein to his followers. The murder of a graceless debauch like Qutbuddin could not have brought him in much ill repute nor could it have caused any serious opposition against him. But his position was greatly compromised by his conniving at the ill-treatment of royal ladies and little babies before his power had been consolidated. In distribution of his favours among the Barwaris, he did not discriminate between Hindus and converts to Islam. That is why he took no action against those Barwaris who in the flush of victory had converted certain mosques into temples or had destroyed copies of the Quran or had used them as seats for Hindu idols. This did not ensure for him the support of other Hindus but alienated the sympathies of a section of the Muslims. When rebellion had begun, it was unwise to have sent Hisamuddin in advance. His secret service also was ineffective or else he would have learnt of the hostility of Juna Khan, Ghazi Malik and Ain-ul-mulk Multani in good time and could have defeated them in detail. He should have excluded from the army all persons of doubtful loyalty but he failed to take this precaution. The result of all this was that his position became weak. At the time of battle, he could not fight with full self-confidence because the sense of superiority of Ghazi Malik overpowered him. Ghazi Malik's army consisted of seasoned war-veterans who had greater stamina than the followers of Khusrau. That is why despite a set-back in the initial stages, he ultimately scored a victory.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE RULE OF THE KHILJIS :

The Khiljis ruled for thirty years and had three principal rulers. None of them could win the support of the people in general. The opposition of Hindus to the Sultans of Delhi was a matter of course but the Khiljis failed to satisfy even the Muslims. Liberality and goodness of Jalaluddin made younger Khiljis and Balbanid nobles severely critical of him. Alauddin Khilji ruled for sixteen years with great eclat and magnificence and everybody was awed into submission to him but nobody loved him. Mubarakshah's depravity and cruelty converted friends into foes. This peculiarity of the rulers of this dynasty is one of the reasons why it came to such a speedy end. Secondly, the rulers of this dynasty placed undue faith in unworthy persons so that it was easy to murder them. Jalaluddin was forewarned and yet he continued to trust the traitorous Alauddin. Alauddin threw his sons and wife into prison on the advice of Kafur who later on had him poisoned. Similarly, Qutbuddin Mubarakshah lost his life by trusting Khusrau. Among these rulers, the ablest and most renowned was Alauddin. If his administrative machinery had depended for its success not on his personality but on the intrinsic merits of institutions established by him, the empire would not have come to an end within four years after his death. For the defence of the north-western frontier, a large army had generally to be maintained. After the conquest of the Deccan, the central army had to be dispersed over a longer area and the governors in the Deccan became so powerful that they often thought of founding independent kingdoms. Alauddin, Kafur and Khusrau first aspired for sovereignty only on going to the Deccan and it was due to the evil influence of Kafur and Khusrau that the empire so rapidly crashed to its end.

But even in spite of their shortlived supremacy, the Khiljis have immortalised themselves in the history of India. They overrode conceptions of racial superiority and acknowledged the principle of universal equality and allowed all sections of their subjects to rise to the highest office in the state.

On the one hand, they furnished the ideal of governing the land on principles of generosity and goodness, and on the other they carried military despotism to its highest watermark. They strengthened the foundations of the Sultanate of Delhi, practically doubled the sphere of its supremacy and having repeatedly vanquished its worst enemy, the Mongols, forced them to keep out of India and restored the Indus as the natural boundary of the Sultanate once again. They made numerous experiments in government and opened the door to the conquest of the Deccan. They encouraged art and literature and adorned the empire with numerous beautiful edifices. Their courtiers included many men of letters who by their compositions have made the Khilji period a memorable epoch in the history of Persian Literature. Thus the rule of the Khiljis is in many respects of great historical importance.

CHAPTER IX

GHIYASUDDIN TUGHLUQSHAH

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE:

Amir Khusrau in *Tughluqnamah* says that Ghazi Malik had exhibited great valour in the siege of Ranthambhor, during the reign of Jalaluddin. This lends confirmation to Ferishta's view that one of the Turkish slaves of Balban was the father of Ghazi Malik. Ghazi Malik was probably born in India and, as Marco Polo hints and Ferishta and Sujan Rai clearly state, his mother was a Jat lady. Dr. Ishwari Prasad in his history of the Qaraunahs accepts the view of Ibn Batuta and describes Ghazi Malik and his descendants as Qaraunah Turks. On the basis of available chronicles and the portrait of Firuz he has expressed the view that even if the Qaraunahs had an element of Mongol blood in their veins, the Turkish element far predominated while Ghazi Malik and his successors were born of mixed marriages between Qaraunah fathers and Jat mothers. Tughluq is not the name of any race or clan—the family surname being 'Qaraunah'. 'Tughluq', on the other hand, is merely a part of the name of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and his successors are called 'Tughluqs' only because they were descended from Ghazi Tughluq.

While speaking at the assembly of the nobles convened after the death of Khusrau, Ghazi Malik spoke of having been reared up by Alauddin and Qutbuddin. From this it may be inferred that during the reign of Jalaluddin, he held no high post. Even under Alauddin he is first mentioned in connection with the Mongol invasions and is appointed the Governor of Dipalpur. As has been indicated in the foregoing chapters, Ghazi Malik's rise to eminence was principally due to his success against the Mongols. By his success against

Khusrau, he caught the imagination of the ulema and the nobles all the more.

CORONATION:

In spite of this, he evinced no undue anxiety to acquire sovereignty. On the contrary, on his entry into Delhi he first arranged for necessary funeral rites to be performed in memory of all those members of Alauddin's family who had been murdered by Khusrau or his followers. He then convened a meeting of the nobles and spoke to them thus:

> "I have drawn my sword to avenge the death of my patrons and not to gain power and kingdom. I have not imperilled my life and property, my wife and children for the acquisition of the throne. What I have done, I have done with the motive of avenging the murders of my patrons. You are distinguished nobles of the empire. If there is any survivor of the stock of my patrons, living at this time, bring him forth immediately so that I may instal him on the throne and tender to him my devotion and fealty. But if the line of Alauddin and Qutbuddin has been completely extinguished by the enemies......place on the throne someone whom you consider worthy of the honours of royalty. I will render unto him my loyal obeisance."

In reply to this, the nobles praising his past services said with one voice that they as well as the common people were so highly impressed with his glorious record that they found none other than himself more suitable for the office of the sovereign. With these words, they took Ghazi Malik by the hand and placed him on the throne. Ghazi Malik is reported to have first declined the offer in favour of Bahram Aiba but when the latter supported the move of the nobles and pointed out that it was desirable that he should accept the offer for otherwise his son Juna

Khan would step in, Ghazi Malik finally agreed and ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughluqshah.

IMPORTANCE OF HIS ACCESSION:

This was the first occasion when a sultan had been unanimously raised to the throne. This was in keeping with the best traditions of Islamic theory. Secondly, Ghazi Malik was neither descended from any noble family nor like Balban did he concoct a fictitious genealogy to connect himself with some dynasty of the past. Even then nobody challenged his right to sovereignty. This too reflects Islamic democratic sentiment. Thirdly, like Jalaluddin Firuz, he too had been posted on the north-western frontier before he founded a new dynasty. But while Jalaluddin had seized power by force Ghiyasuddin accepted the office of the sovereign at the unanimous request of the nobles from a sense of duty towards the people. Like Balban he too was already an old man but his physical vigour or mental efficiency had not been impaired and Ziyauddin Barani says that immediately after assuming sovereignty, he imparted such vigour and stability to the state that it appeared as if Alauddin had come back to life. Within forty days of his accession, his authority was acknowledged all over the empire.

POSITION OF THE SOVEREIGN:

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had founded his dynasty in very favourable circumstances. Usually, when there is a change of dynasty one or the other powerful group gets hostile to the new regime. But as Ghiyasuddin's authority had been unanimously accepted, he received only co-operation and support at all hands. Secondly, even those who were not present at the capital knew that the Sultan was an experienced warrior and capable general who possessed a large army of loyal and devoted soldiers flushed with victory. Consequently, their natural reaction was to accept his suzerainty. The people of Delhi had a large share in imparting stability to the power of the Sultan. Ghiyas enjoyed their support also and as he had put an end to the domination of the Hindus, the ulema and the Muslim saints also backed his authority.

But Ghiyasuddin had some difficulties also. There was a depleted treasury because of the extravagance of Qutbuddin and lavish gifts of Khusrau to his supporters and to all those who could be of any use in his war against the rebel nobles. Secondly, Qutbuddin's frivolity and Khusrau's weakness had undermined the efficiency of government so that there were numerous instances of evasion of state laws, withholding of taxes and defiance of royal authority. In the Punjab, the Khokhars had thrown off the yoke of Delhi and were unwilling to submit to its authority. In the western Punjab there was a large Mongol population which was at heart disaffected and longed for the restoration of Mongol power. As long as Ghazi Malik was there, he had kept them under control but after his departure to Delhi signs of discontent became visible. Similarly in southern Sindh, the Sumras also yearned for independence. They had retained power in that region all along. In the days of Iltutmish, they had been forced to submit to him. Later, the Mongols established their authority over them and finally when Alauddin overran the whole of Sindh, the Sumras had acknowledged his suzerainty. The departure of Ghiyasuddin from Dipalpur served as a lever for their desire for independence. Gujerat was seething with discontent on account of the murders of Alap Khan and Zafar Khan. There were many powerful Rajput chiefs who stopped paying tribute at the earliest opportunity. Nearer Delhi, some disaffection had shown itself in the Doab but it had soon subsided. Bengal had been independent ever since the death of Balban and even Alauddin had not been able to conquer it. During the reign of Khusrau, lawlessness had spread over Malwa and Bundelkhand also so that numerous centres of rebellion came into existence. But on Ain-ul-mulk Multani's return, the authority of Delhi had been restored once again. In the Deccan, Prataprudradeva the ruler of Warangal behaved like an independent prince making peace or war at will. His power was constantly increasing and he had stopped paying tribute.

EARLY MEASURES OF THE SULTAN:

To set matters right, Ghiyasuddin acted with great vigour and farsight. A proclamation was issued at Delhi demanding refund of all moneys received from Khusrau because the revenues of the state were not a personal property of Khusrau who could spend them only in public interest. Most people refunded the money but some adopted an evasive attitude. Ghiyasuddin had them tortured so that everyone except Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya finally complied with the demand. Consequently, the treasury was filled once again within a short time.

All those who were guilty of maltreating royal ladies of the Khilji household, were hunted down and suitably punished. Those who were of a marriageable age were provided with suitable matches while the rest were granted adequate pensions for their maintenance. This made the Sultan all the more popular.

He put down the revolts of Hindus in the Doab and in the neighbourhood of Delhi while those who had offered opposition to Khusrau were taken in state service and were granted jagirs. He granted promotions in rank to all able persons but self-seeking job-hunters were kept at an arm's length. He conferred on his eldest son Juna Khan the title of Ulugh Khan and declared him heir-apparent to the throne. By this means, he tried to avoid a future war of succession and to satisfy the ambitions of Juna Khan. He regarded him the ablest among his sons. That is why he gave him not only his affection but also his confidence. Bahram Aiba was given the title of Kishlu Khan and was put in charge of the north-western frontier. Thus the Sultan suitably honoured his chief collaborator as well. Of his kinsmen, Malik Shadi was appointed the *Wazir*, Bahauddin, *Ariz-i-Mumalik* and Asaduddin, *Barbak*. His adopted son Tatar Khan got the title of Zafar Khan. Other nobles also received similar posts and titles. Thus the older nobility had no cause for resentment and yet all key-posts were held by persons who being the kinsmen of the Sultan could be trusted to defend his power and position with all care and circumspection.

CONQUEST OF WARANGAL (1321-1323) :

Ghiyasuddin appointed fresh governors for Gujerat and Devagiri and deputed his eldest son Ulugh Khan to lead an expedition to Warangal. Contingents from Chanderi, Malwa and Badaun were also directed to accompany the prince. On reaching Warangal, he laid siege to the fort and occupied the outer fortifications. Pratap Rudradeva opened negotiations for peace and promised to pay annual tribute. But Ulugh Khan rejected the terms. He knew that Pratap Rudradeva had made similar promises in the time of Alauddin and Qutbuddin also but had later gone back on his word. Secondly, the fort of Warangal had never been captured by the Turks so far. He thought that if he made peace without first occupying the fort, the Deccanis would get the impression that Warangal was impregnable which was bound to incite them to rebellion again. Ulugh Khan therefore decided to occupy the fort, seize its taeasure, annex the kingdom and carry away Pratap Rudradeva as a prisoner to Delhi. But just at this time, communication with Delhi was disrupted and there was no news from the capital. At the time of Kafur's invasion also the Telangs had upset his postal arrangements. Probably at this time also they were responsible for frightening away the post-carriers. This led to circulation of rumours of all sorts. There was a suspicion in certain quarters that Delhi was probably in the grip of serious disorders. Isami and Ibn Batuta say that rebellious thoughts arose in the mind of Ulugh Khan who through his friends Ubaid and Shaikhzada Damishqi circulated the news that the Sultan was dead. He had hoped that as he had been declared heir-apparent to the throne, all the nobles would promptly accept him as their sovereign and would stand by him even if the Sultan sent an army against him. Probably he too like Alauddin aspired to seize the throne with the help of an army recruited with Deccan gold. It is also possible that like Kafur and Khusrau, he too might have aimed at establishing an independent kingdom in the Deccan. But some nobles opposed Ulugh Khan and sought to arrest him. These internal dissensions weakened the Delhi army. Pratap Rudradeva made a violent charge and drove the imperialists out of his kingdom. But Barani says that Ubaid and Shaikhzada Damishqi while circulating the report of the death of the Sultan had also added that Ulugh Khan contemplated arresting all those who were hostile to him. This led to a revolt in the army. It is difficult to ascertain the real cause of this revolt. Dr. Mehdi Husain suggests that Ubaid, Shaikhzada Damishqi and a few other nobles who had accompanied the Delhi army at the time of earlier invasions of the Deccan had hoped that after a short siege peace would be made and they would all have a share in the rich booty captured. They therefore opposed the move of annexing Telingana. They first tried to persuade Ulugh Khan to accept their point of view but when he did not accept their advice, they secretly allied themselves with Pratap Rudradeva in consideration of heavy bribes and circulated a report which should lead to disturbances in the army so that fighting would cease. Dr. Ishwari Prasad absolves Ulugh Khan of being privy to the conspiracy but he is unable to decide why his friends circulated reports which caused a mutiny in the army. Sir Wolseley Haig accepts the version of Ibn Batuta and holds Juna Khan responsible for the whole mischief. The record of successful invaders of the Deccan in the recent past as well as later conduct of Ulugh Khan lends confirmation to the view that Ubaid and the Shaikhzada circulated the news of the Sultan's death only at the suggestion of the prince and tried to induce all the nobles to accept him as their sovereign. But when some of them opposed this move they held out a threat that if the prince came to know of their opposition, he would place them under arrest. This alarmed the nobles about their security and they rose in revolt as a measure of self-defence. They sent word also to the Sultan that as the prince contemplated treason, they had defied his authority. This disrupted the solidarity of the army, disorganised the troops and Ulugh Khan had to face a defeat in place of acquiring sovereignty. He might have felt that if Ubaid and the Shaikhzada had been a little more tactful or if the nobles had not become mutinous, he would not have been reduced to such sore straits. The fear of his father's wrath would have also loomed large. He therefore employed his resourceful intelligence in devising a plan for his defence. He must have realized that it was only by laying the whole blame on Ubaid, Shaikhzada Damishqi and a few other nobles that he could prove his innocence. He therefore represented to the Sultan that when the war did not come to a speedy end, they grew disaffected and pleaded for peace at any price. When their advice was rejected they broke out into rebellion. Paternal affection served as a shield for his crime and just as Alauddin, Kafur and Khusrau had been able to deceive their masters because they happened to be their favourites, similarly Ulugh Khan was also able to prove his innocence. Consequently all the rebels that were captured were tortured to death while Ubaid and Shaikhzada Damishqi who had buried the Sultan in jest were buried alive in earnest.

Then another army was made ready and Ulugh Khan was appointed to lead a second invasion of Telingana. The prince occupied the fort of Warangal. Pratap Rudradeva and members of his family were captured and sent away to Delhi while the entire kingdom of Telingana was parcelled out into a number of units each of which was assigned to a separate Muslim governor. Warangal was renamed Sultanpur and the prince sat down to settle the affairs of the newly conquered kingdom. Thus another Hindu state of the Deccan had ceased to exist and the responsibilities of the Sultan of Delhi became far more onerous than ever before.

ORISSA RAIDED :

Ulugh Khan next attacked Bhanudeva II, the king of Orissa because he had offered assistance to Pratap Rudradeva. Although he did not try to annex Orissa the campaign was quite successful and he secured a large booty. The ruler of Gondwana was also one of the allies of Pratap Rudradeva but it is not known whether Ulugh Khan raided his territory as well.

RETURN TO DELHI :

Having collected all the booty, the prince went back to Delhi. It is not possible to be definite whether he had gone in response to a summons from his father who wanted to leave him in charge of the capital during his projected campaign to Bengal or whether he had himself started for the north and he met his father's courier on the way. The Sultan accorded him a grand reception and festivities went on for full one week.

MONGOLS REPULSED:

Just about this time came the news of a Mongol invasion. The Sultan promptly sent reinforcements to Bahauddin Gurshasp, the governor of Samana who defeated the Mongols in two engagements and drove them out of the country. A number of them were captured and as usual were subjected to brutal punishments.

INTERVENTION IN BENGAL (1324):

Bengal had generally remained independent. Even when it acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi, the authority of the latter was only nominal. After the defeat and death of Tughril Beg, Balban had appointed Bughra Khan to rule over it. He ruled till 1291 and had acknowledged the authority even of his own son who had succeeded Balban. After his death, he was succeeded by his sons Ruknuddin Kaikaus (1291-1302) and Shamsuddin Firuzshah (1302-1322). It was during the reign of Shamsuddin that the Bengal expedition under Juna Khan had proved a failure. After that neither Alauddin nor Qutbuddin tried to meddle in its affairs. Independence of Bengal thus became a settled fact. After Shamsuddin's death, a war of succession ensued among his sons and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, having defeated his elder brothers Shihabuddin and Nasiruddin emerged successful. Nasiruddin now appealed for aid from the Sultan of Delhi. Ghiyas seized the opportunity with avidity and readily offered to assist Nasiruddin. He started at the head of an army leaving Ulugh Khan in charge of the capital during his absence. Nasiruddin was able to acquire considerable power in the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti even before the Sultan reached Bengal. Even then he came to meet the Sultan in Tirhut and accompanied him during his march into Bengal. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur was defeated and he along with the members of his family was sent away as prisoner to Delhi. Lakhnauti was assigned to Nasiruddin while Sonargaon was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi and Tatar Khan was appointed its governor. Thus the authority of the Sultan was established over practically the whole of Bengal. If Nasiruddin or his successors were to rebel in future, they could easily be overpowered with the help of the army at Sonargaon. As a concession to their former dignity, the rulers of Lakhnauti were permitted to use the title of Shah and to keep their names on the *sikka*. He presented to Nasiruddin also a mace and a canopy. Thus he did not impair their independence altogether. Bengal coins bore the names both of the Sultan of Delhi and the ruler of Bengal. That means that the ruler of Bengal had acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi and had agreed to introduce the name of the Sultan of Delhi both in the *Khutba* and on the *sikka*. He may have also agreed to pay an annual tribute. Thus it meant a mere enhancement of dignity rather than an extension of power or territory. It was only by annexation of East Bengal that his sphere of influence increased and he derived a real profit.

ANNEXATION OF TIRHUT:

On his way back from Bengal, the Sultan attacked the ruler of Tirhut. The Turks had so far failed to reduce it to submission and rulers of the Karnata dynasty continued to rule over it as independent princes. Ghiyasuddin now decided to consolidate his power in north Bihar by conquering this kingdom. It was then ruled by Hari Singh. He made war against the Sultan but he was defeated and was obliged to seek shelter in the forest near the capital. The Sultan cleared the forest, hunted out Hari Singh and inflicted another defeat on him. His capital was occupied and Ahmad Khan was appointed governor there. According to Hindu chroniclers, Raja Hari Singh put up a very gallant fight and when he lost hope of success retired to Nepal at the head of his troops and founded an independent kingdom there. Thus Tirhut passed into the hands of the Turks but Raja Hari Singh did not submit to them. In the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, one of the former nobles of Hari Singh rose in revolt but he did not receive the support of other nobles who preferred to side with the Sultan. The result was that the rebellion was easily suppressed and the authority of the Sultan of Delhi remained as before. By this conquest, Ghiyasuddin discharged the obligation of converting *dar-ul-harb* into *dar-ul-Islam*.

DEATH OF GHIYASUDDIN (1325):

After the annexation of Tirhut, the Sultan proceeded rapidly towards Delhi. He feared a rebellion to be brewing because he had received disquieting reports from the capital. Ulugh Khan cultivated the company of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya although he knew that the Sultan did not like his ways of life. The Shaikh had sufistic leanings and music was freely employed in his gatherings. As the Shaikh listened to music, he had ecstatic fits or *hals* and members of the assembly tried to imitate him. The Sultan and a majority of the orthodox theologians regarded such conduct contrary to the principles of Islam. The Sultan had once convened a meeting of the leading theologians of the land to pronounce upon the conduct of the Shaikh. After a long discussion, the assembly held music to be anti-Islamic but in case of saints like Nizamuddin Auliya, the common rule did not apply. All their conduct was so imbued with devotion to God that all that they did was legal. Thus relations between the Sultan and the Shaikh became all the more embittered. When the Sultan learnt that Ulugh Khan regarded the Shaikh as his *pir* (spiritual guide) he felt scandalised. He had also learnt that Ulugh Khan had purchased a number of slaves at an extravagent cost. This created a suspicion in his mind that the prince was probably contemplating rebellion. Just then some astrologers predicted that the Sultan would not be able to return to Delhi. It is such reports that had made him particularly anxious so that he was eager to reach the capital as early as possible. At the same time he wrote to Ulugh Khan that he should banish the astrologers in question, should be careful in the choice of his company and should not misuse government funds. He also gave him a clear warning that if his conduct did not improve, he would be obliged to cancel his nomination as heir to the throne. At the same time, he wrote to Nizamuddin Auliya that he did not want his ears to be assailed by the tune of music. It was therefore desirable that the Shaikh should leave Delhi before he returned to it. The Shaikh is said to have remarked "Delhi is still far away". Ulugh Khan carried out the wishes of his father and started preparations for his reception on a grand scale.

Ibn Batuta says that the Sultan had also sent instructions for the construction of a palace near the capital where he would pass the night and from where he would proceed to the capital next morning in festive array. Ulugh Khan conspired with Ahmad Ayaz, the minister in charge of public works to bring about the death of the Sultan. On the excuse of short notice, a wooden palace was to be quickly constructed. It was so designed that its foundations should be weak so that when special pressure was exerted at a specified point, the building should collapse. This would kill the Sultan and Ulugh Khan as the declared heir would automatically become the Sultan and would reward Ahmad Ayaz by offering him the highest post in the state.

When the Sultan arrived and was lodged in that palace he was pleased with the arrangements for his reception and comfortable stay. A grand feast attended by the leading nobles, Ulugh Khan and Shaikh Ruknuddin was held in the afternoon. As soon as the meal was over, most of the guests went out. The Sultan remained inside. Just then richly caparisoned elephants moved in single file saluting the emperor. All of a sudden, the structure shook and collapsed, crushing the Sultan under its debris. It took some time before he could be taken out and was found to be dead. He was immediately buried. According to *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, it took place in February, 1325.

WAS ULUGH KHAN A PATRICIDE?

The contemporary historian, Ziyauddin Barani gives a very brief notice to this incident and says "a thunderbolt of calamity fell from heaven so that the palace collapsed killing all its inmates." Later historians like Nizamuddin Ahmed, Badauni and Abul Fazl hold Ulugh Khan guilty of patricide and accuse Barani of wilful *suppressio veri* in consideration of Sultan Firuz's sentiments. A majority of modern scholars like Sir Wolseley Haig and Dr. Ishwari Prasad also hold Ulugh Khan guilty of murder. The main arguments in support of this view are the following:—

(1) Ibn Batuta is a contemporary author. He got his details from Shaikh Ruknuddin who was an eye-witness. He wrote his memoirs on his return to his homeland. He had no such grievance against Muhammad bin Tughluq that he should fabricate a story to sully his reputation.

(2) Ziyauddin Barani does not speak of a stroke of lightning unequivocally. His statement may also carry the meaning that the tragedy was as sudden and calamitous as a stroke of lightning. He has made a laconic statement so that without being guilty of making a false statement he might avoid wounding the tender feelings of his patron Firuz in regard to Muhammad bin Tughluq.

(3) Yahya makes no mention of a stroke of lightning. Nizamuddin Ahmad is a very balanced historian. He dismisses the story of stroke of lightning as a mere fabrication to absolve the prince of conspiracy. Badauni also supports this view. Abul Fazl had the advantage of being provided with all available data. He too rejects the lightning stroke theory.

(4) If the prince had no evil designs why should he have built a palace so close to the capital and why should he parade the elephants only after the guests had gone out of it ?

(5) Ulugh Khan was known to be ambitious. He had been guilty of rebellion even before this. Securing power by such murders was by no means an unprecedented incident. Although he had been nominated heir to the throne yet what guarantee was there that the Sultan would stick to it till the end ?

(6) Ahmad Ayaz was responsible for the construction of the palace whose collapse killed the Sultan. He therefore merited punishment. But he was instead rewarded with the post of the *Wazir* and the title of Khwaja Jahan. This suggests that he had placed the prince under some special debt of gratitude. Obviously, it was nothing but designing a palace which should help in the murder of the Sultan without throwing the blame on the prince.

But Dr. Mehdi Husain absolves Ulugh Khan of all guilt. His arguments may be summarised as under:

(1) According to Muhammad bin Tughluq's autobiography (an unpublished work), Ghiyasuddin died in July when a thunderstroke is quite likely.

(2) Ain-ul-mulk Multani admits in one of his letters that the palace was strongly built.

(3) Firuz was not so devoted to Muhammad bin Tughluq that he could not put up with his just criticism. In *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi* he himself has cast aspersions on his predecessor.

(4) Barani has severely criticised Muhammad bin Tughluq at a number of places. If he were guilty of patricide, he would have surely mentioned it. Ferishta also supports Barani.

(5) Ibn Batuta belonged to the theologian group which was very hostile to Muhammad bin Tughluq. He had married in the family of the ruler of Mabar who was an enemy of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He too had got estranged with the Sultan on grounds of personal interest. He has given numerous imaginary stories based on bazar gossip. His testimony is therefore not quite reliable.

(6) Muhammad bin Tughluq was a man of noble character and he could not be guilty of conduct for which he condemned Alauddin.

A dispassionate examination of the entire evidence shows that the balance is weighted more heavily against Ulugh Khan than in his favour and the promotion of Ahmad Ayaz almost conclusively proves his guilt. Some people have expressed the opinion that the statement which had escaped the lips of Nizamuddin Auliya was bound to come true because of his spiritual powers. That therefore acted as a curse to bring about the death of the Sultan. Another writer has said that Ulugh Khan was a great magician. He had erected the palace by magic and it naturally collapsed as soon as he withdrew his magic.

REFORMS OF GHIYASUDDIN :

Ghiyasuddin's reign of five years is in many respects quite remarkable. His personal character was so noble and praiseworthy that he has been described as an ideal Muslim ruler. We have already noticed how he agreed to become the Sultan at the universal insistence of the nobles and thus demonstrated his adherence to the democratic principle. After his accession, he strengthened the religious tone of society by his precept and example. He modelled his conduct in such wise that emulation of his example should lead to moral well-being of his subjects. He established a strong government, had due regard for public welfare and made it impossible for Hindus to rise in revolt against him while the services became more dutiful and efficient. His foreign policy was in conformity with the principles of Islam and was suited to the conditions in which he ruled.

He issued a code of laws for the guidance of all and sundry. It was based on Muslim jurisprudence as applied to Indian conditions. His mode of living was simple and conduct exemplary. This considerably reduced the expenditure on the court and the royal household so that the finances of the state became more stabilized. Following the example of the great caliphs, he made provision for regular grants and aids being given to the poor and the orphaned, the saint and the scholar, the destitute and the unemployed. Recruitment to services was made on merit irrespective of race or social status. He did not discriminate between Musalman and Musalman on the basis of colour or race. Thus he made the ideal of Islamic brotherhood an active principle of his state policy. By adequate provision for justice, he established peace and security throughout the length and breadth of his empire. Roads became free from highway robbers, trade and industry were in a flourishing state and life, honour and property of the people were given due protection.

His military organisation was modelled on that of Alauddin. But he increased the salaries of soldiers, improved their conditions of service and treated the commanders with greater consideration. He took good care to enforce prompt and full payment of salaries of soldiers and obliged provincial governors and jagirdars to conform to these regulations scrupulously. But at the same time he instituted an enquiry into payments made by Khusrau. If the payment did not exceed a whole year's salary he made no objection but in case of those who had received more an entry was made in their pay rolls and the amount was adjusted against their salary. He paid due regard also to the armour and equipment of soldiers. Consequently, the army remained sufficiently powerful to beat back all foreign invaders, to conquer new territory and to put down rebellion wherever it occurred.

In his dealings with the farmers, his general principle was that they should neither be rack-rented lest they should give up agriculture nor so lightly taxed that with accumulation of wealth, they should become contumacious and seditious. He seems to have realized more than one third but less than half of the produce. Illegal imposts were however abolished. Land revenue was still to be realized through *Khots* and *Muqaddams* but they were not allowed to oppress the tenantry in any way. They were warned not to realize anything more than the regular revenue but as a concession to their higher status they were given rent-free land for their own use. Local *amils* and secret informers kept an eye over their conduct and all breaches of law were heavily punished. Farming of revenue was abolished as prejudicial to the interests of the tenants. He had also prohibited sudden increases in land tax. Maximum increase permitted was 9% or 10% and this too was to be spread over four or five years. No notice was taken of *amils* withholding a maximum of 5% to 10% of total collections but all other cases of short payment were severely punished. Similarly maliks and Amirs who withhold 1/22 or 1/20 to a maximum of 1/15 or 1/10 of the total collections were lightly passed over but all cases of heavier embezzlement were treated as serious offences and suitably punished. Thus the Sultan adopted a more liberal policy than that of Alauddin. Servants of the state could now live in greater comfort and honour and became more loyally attached to the rule of the Sultan.

His religious policy was not unduly harsh. He adopted the principles of Sunnism. He abstained from wine and women and eschewed music and dance as contrary to Islam. In matters religious, he was guided not merely by his own prejudices but by a correct evaluation of the principles of his faith. He showed consideration for the learned and the saintly and granted them stipends and allowances. He disliked Nizamuddin Auliya's attachment to music but he did not interfere with him in the absence of support by the *ulema*. He not only inspired respect for Islam by his personal conduct but appointed *Muhtasibs* also to guide the people in the ways of religion. There is no evidence in his reign of temple-destruction or forcible conversion. This suggests that his policy of heavy taxation was political and not fanatical in origin. The policy adopted towards the *Khots* and *Muqaddams* could lead to their prosperity and consequent disaffection but he insisted on treating them more liberally because of their higher status. He allowed even the Barwaris to remain in the army and punished only those who were guility of murder or rape. He did not indulge in wanton bloodshed of the Hindus and in Telingana and Tirhut he annexed Hindu territory no doubt but treated the people on the whole with generosity.

In comparison to Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin and Balban, his policy seems to have avoided their faults and incorporated their merits. That is why his government was so successful and the Sultan become so popular in the land. Ghiyasuddin had risen from the post of a common soldier to the high dignity of a sovereign but this did not affect his balance of mind and his life as well as government was characterised by order and restraint. If he had not been murdered, he would have strengthened the roots of the Tughluq dynasty all the more. But even on the basis of what he had already done, he has secured for himself a place of honour among the Sultans of Delhi.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. III.
2. Ishwari Prasad—A history of the Qaraunah Turks in India, Pt. I, pp. 1-55.
3. Mehdi Husain—The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq pp. 16-74.
4. Tripathi—pp. 55-60 ; 268-274.
5. Qureshi—The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.

CHAPTER X

SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQSHAH

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE:

Three days after the death of Sultan Ghiyasuddin, Ulugh Khan was proclaimed Sultan in Tughluqabad and he assumed the title of Muhammad Shah. This was done only because keeping the throne vacant might have endangered peace and security of the empire. But no celebrations were permitted by the new Sultan. On the contrary, he clad himself in black as a mark of mourning for the death of his father. When forty days had expired and all funeral rites had been over, he went to Delhi and started preparations for his coronation. The Sultan was now crowned amidst great rejoicings and magnificent celebrations.

WHY DID IT GO UNCHALLENGED?

Contemporary historians do not mention opposition by any party or individual to Muhammad's accession. He had four brothers viz., Mubarak Khan, Nusrat Khan, Masud Khan and Mahmud Khan. Of these, Mahmud Khan was probably killed at Afghanpur along with the late Sultan. Masud Khan was his step-brother and was later executed because he was implicated in a conspiracy against the Sultan. But at the time of coronation, he made no opposition. Nusrat Khan was also living in the reign of Sultan Muhammad. The ablest among these brothers was Mubarak Khan but he too offered no opposition and accepted the office of *Mir Dad* under him.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin was an extremely popular ruler. His murder should have aroused natural resentment. How is it then that none of Muhammad's brothers tried to exploit the situation to secure the throne for himself? There were various reasons for this. Ulugh Khan was far abler than any of his brothers. He had wide experience of civil and military affairs. He had secured a large following during the Telingana campaign and his stewardship at Delhi. He had the Central government already in his grip. He had also been nominated as heir to the throne. His position was therefore unusually strong. It was therefore difficult to challenge his power with success. He was suspected of patricide no doubt but it was not possible to assert without any fear of contradiction that he was certainly guilty of the charge. It might have been due to a mere accident. It was therefore not easy to carry on an open propaganda against the heir-apparent. The latter could describe it as a malicious lie and could inflict capital punishment on the authors of this calumny. His brothers were by no means able and none of them had enjoyed any high office during the life-time of his father. In such circumstances, it was impossible for any of them to put up a successful opposition to their able and experienced brother, already in the saddle. Muhammad bin Tughluq had the blessings of Nizamuddin Auliya in his favour. Consequently the disciples of the Shaikh who were quite numerous among the courtiers and citizens of Delhi also threw in their weight in his favour. In mediaeval Muslim dynasties such murders were quite common so that the act of patricide would not have appeared so reprehensible as it should have done. Finally, most people were guided by self-interest. The nobles and provincial governors of those days were not so devoted to their sovereign that they should sacrifice their self-interest in offering opposition to his successor even after his death. Because of an indefinite law of succession among Muslims, the general attitude was that sovereignty belonged to him who could capture it, even if it be by force. Consequently revolutions and changes of rulers received ready support at the hands of the people. That is why during the period of the Sultanate, Alauddin, Kafur, or Nasiruddin Khusrau encountered practically no opposition on grounds of principle or loyalty to the previous ruler. It is for these reasons that Muhammad's succession was approved without any opposition and he was acknowledged Sultan of Delhi.

IMPORTANCE OF HIS REIGN:

Muhammad bin Tughluq occupies a special place in the history of mediaeval India and his reign is highly important from many points of view. It is during his reign that a major part of the Deccan passed under the direct rule of the Sultanate of Delhi and in respect of extent of territory, the empire reached its zenith. But the decline of the Sultanate also set in just at this time and finally led to political disintegration. No Sultan of Delhi could stand comparison with Muhammad in respect of wide learning and a versatile genius. He encouraged and patronised science, literature and art. But despite his learning and genius most of his schemes miscarried. His character and personality is so complex or even enigmatic that it has defied correct appreciation. That is why scholars have formed widely divergent estimates of his character. A study of his character imparts a special importance to his reign. A strange destiny governed his life. During his reign, rebellions, famines and epidemics followed in such intermittent succession as if they conformed to a predetermined plan to subject him to a severest trial and ultimate failure. To promote public welfare, he sought to introduce many reforms. But some of them were so novel and revolutionary in character that the people failed to realize their significance so that instead of helping to make them a success they offered a determined opposition. His unprecedented generosity and lavishness of gifts earned for him a wide renown throughout Asia. But instead of reducing the barbarity and fierecenss of the existing penal code he increased it. During his reign secularism reached its highest water-mark and the self-appointed custodians of Islam—the *ulema*—became virtual non-entities. As his reign is packed with so many remarkable and novel features, it has become a highly interesting and important subject of study.

EARLY MEASURES OF THE SULTAN:

At the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq's accession, the treasury was full of gold and jewels. Ibn Batuta says that Sultan Tughluqshah had built a palace with gold plated bricks. Within it there was a huge reservoir filled with melted gold. Sultan Muhammad inherited all this wealth. Tughluqshah had also left behind an extensive empire which included practically the whole of India except Kashmir, Rajputana and certain coastal regions. The frontiers of this empire were far more secure than ever before and there was little or no danger of invasion by the Mongols or a counter-attack by the Rajputs. Within the empire, there were no signs of rebellion or disaffection. In this sense, the problems of Muhammad bin Tughluq were far easier than those of Balban or Alauddin. He had only one serious worry viz., to counteract suspicion in public mind and to create conditions which might eradicate the memory of Sultan Ghiyasuddin's death within the shortest possible time. He thought that if he adopted measures which should bring out his superiority over his father and which instead of prejudicing the interests of any class or group helped to promote and foster them, he would receive hearty support of the nobility and the masses. All his early measures were inspired by this motive.

When he was entering the capital, the city wore such a tasteful festive appearance that it looked like paradise on earth. The royal procession was led by a string of elephants, richly caprisoned and bedecked with precious ornaments and jewels. They carried on their backs grandees of the state dressed in their finest and costliest costumes. As they moved they scattered gold and silver coins among the spectators. This showering of gold and silver pleased the Hindus and the Muslims alike and the citizens of Delhi heartily blessed the Sultan and sang praises of his generosity.

When he held the first audience after his coronation, he gave rich presents and high-sounding titles to his nobles. For the consolidation of his power, he made some fresh appointments also. We may mention a few of them. Tatar Khan the governor of Sonargaon was given one crore of gold tankas and the title of Bahram Khan. Malik Sanjar received 80 lakhs, Imamuddin 70 lakhs and Sayyad Azduddaula, the tutor of the Sultan 40 lakhs of tankas. Other nobles also received similar lavish grants. He granted pensions, *jagirs* and stipends to *shaikhs* and *darwishes*, poets and learned men. This reconciled the people to the new Sultan and all their suspicion or opposition was ended. Consciously or unconsciously they carried the impression that even if the Sultan were guilty of patricide he had made ample amends for it by giving away such large quantities of gold.

Malik Maqbul was conferred the title of Imad-ul-mulk and he was appointed *wazir-i-mumalik*. But after a while he was sent away to govern Gujerat and was given the title of Khan-i-jahan. Just at this time, Ahmad Ayaz who had received the title of Khwaja-Jahan at the time of accession was appointed the *Wazir*. Maulana Qiyamuddin another teacher of the Sultan was given the title of Qutlugh Khan and was appointed *Vakil-i-dar*. Malik Firuz, a cousin of the Sultan was appointed *Naib Barbak*. Tatar Khan, the adopted son and a great favourite of the late Sultan was an able and courageous ruler. He was recalled and in his place Bahadur who had been detained at Delhi since 1324 was appointed governor of east Bengal. This appointment is of great importance. Bahadur was a descendant of Balban. If he stayed on at the capital he might be made the centre of a rebellion by designing people. His removal from Delhi put an end to this potential danger. This also reduced the power of Tatar Khan although apparently he was treated with much consideration. Bahadur acknowledged the Sultan as his overlord while the Sultan permitted him to issue coins inscribed with the name of the Sultan as well as himself. When Nasiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti died, the Sultan appointed Bedar Khilji as governor there and gave him the title of Qadr Khan.

POLICY OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ:

The Sultan ruled from 1325 to 1351. For a proper evaluation of his work, it is desirable to study his wars and measures of reforms separately. His wars are further subdivisible into three groups, viz., conquests, defence of frontiers and suppression of revolts. Similarly, his reforms are also divisible into six groups—(i) relating to principles of government, (ii) treatment of the Hindus (iii) administration of justice, (iv) currency, (v) taxation and (vi) ameliorative reforms.

FOREIGN POLICY AND SCHEMES OF CONQUEST:

(a) *Rajputana.*—Muhammad bin Tughluq's foreign policy was not particularly successful. Probably, he had a war against Hammir the ruler of Chitor in the early years of his reign. According to Rajput *Khyats*, Hammir defeated and captured the Sultan and released him after three months only when he agreed to offer to the Rana 50 lakh tankas, 100 elephants, and the districts of Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nagor and Suispur. Tod, Erskine and Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha accept the story of Muhammad's defeat as true. But other authors like

Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Agha Mehdi Husain reject it as false because no Persian history makes any reference to this war. This however is certain that the Sultan made no effort to subdue the independent states of Rajputana. Maybe it was due to the Sultan's preoccupation in other regions or his fear of their organised strength. Mehdi Husain says that the Sultan did not attack them because he was charitably disposed towards the Hindus. But Muhammad's relations with other Hindu states—Nagarkot, Himachal, Anagondi—do not support the view that he was averse to annexing them. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose that he adopted such a policy because of the failure of previous Sultans of Delhi to subdue the states of Rajputana.

(b) *Mongols: Taramshirin comes to India.*—Another event connected with the Sultan's foreign policy is his relations with the Mongol ruler, Taramshirin. He was a son of Daud who had tried to conquer and annex India in the time of Alauddin Khilji. Taramshirin ruled over Trans-Oxiana. As a Chaghtai, he was at daggers drawn with the Ilkhans of Persia, the descendants of Hulagu. To the dynastic rivalry was now added sectarian hatred for while the Ilkhans had embraced Shiaism, Taramshirin was a Sunni. Internal dissensions weakened the Ilkhans and in the reign of Abu Said, the successor of Uljaitu there was every danger of the Ilkhanid empire being dismembered because of the conspiracies engineered by Amir Chopan. Taramshirin decided to take advantage of this situation and started concentrating troops at Ghazni and Kabul with a view to seize Khorasan. His preparations were still going on when Amir Hasan the son of Chopan surprised him at Ghazni, inflicting a severe defeat on him and sacked and plundered Ghazni. This happened in 1326-1327. Taramshirin found it hard to retreat home. He therefore fled towards India. His object was to mobilise the support of the Sunni ruler of India to defeat his victorious Shia adversary. He dashed on to Delhi. Muhammad bin Tughluq welcomed him and granted him asylum. But Khwaja Jahan and Qutlugh Khan did not approve of his stay in India. The Sultan therefore sent him away and offered him 5000 dinars as a parting gift. Muhammad's generosity and courtesy to Taramshirin during the hour of his distress touched the latter and he felt greatly obliged to him. He had acquired first hand experience of the Sultan's ability and power. Therefore, he maintained friendly relations all along and expressed fraternal sentiments in his letters.

Barani and Ibn Batuta make no reference to this incident as an invasion but Yahya and Ferishta have described him also as an invader because the Mongols had been coming to this land only as conquerors. Mongol historians have also described it as one of the victories of Taramshirin probably because he had been presented 5000 dinars. Ferishta says that Taramshirin entered India by way of Lamghan and Multan. Officers on the north-western frontier failed to check him and he pressed on to Delhi. Sultan Muhammad acted with great pusillanimity and shut himself up inside the fort. After a while, the Mongols proceeded towards Badaun because they were not good at sieges. The Mongols were now involved in great trouble because a famine was raging in the region. Muhammad had in the meantime collected an army which he sent against the Mongols. At the same time, he also offered them a large sum of money. According to Ferishta, this amount was equivalent to the price of the empire itself. This persuaded the Mongols to retire from the land. Muhammad sent an army in pursuit but it avoided coming into grips with the Mongols.

Both these versions have certain common features. Taramshirin had a numerous army with him. He had indulged in some plunder on the way and the frontier officers had failed to check him. The rulers at Delhi had no knowledge of changed circumstances in Central Asia and Taramshirin retired only after reaching Delhi. But there was no conflict between him and Sultan Muhammad. A review of the entire incident reveals that neither Taramshirin came here as an invader nor Muhammad bought him off because of lack of nerve. If the Sultan had given any evidence of weakness and wealth, the Mongol leader would have repeated his raids instead of allying himself with him because with lapse of time the power of the Sultan declined further and further. Taramshirin's coming to Delhi reveals the weakness of the north-western frontier defence but we must remember that the Mongols had succeeded in dashing on to Delhi and the Doab even in the time of Alauddin because their knowledge of Indian topography was as wide as the speed of their armies was great.

PLANS FOR CONQUEST OF KHORASAN:

On his return home, Taramshirin became the master of his ancestral possessions once again. Internal condition of Persia continued to deteriorate and Khorasan was caught in a wave of wide-spread disaffection. Some of the unsuccessful conspirators there came to India and sought shelter with Sultan Muhammad. The Sultan assigned them suitable quarters and fixed allowances for them. To secure their own ends, they tried to impress on the mind of the Sultan that he could easily annex Khorasan. Just then dynastic, personal and sectarian differences induced Taramshirin also to plan the conquest of Khorasan and he sought the cooperation of Muhammad bin Tughluq in this venture. The ruler of Egypt also was a staunch Sunni. Taramshirin therefore thought that it would not be difficult to conquer

Khorasan in alliance with India and Egypt. Sultan Muhammad did not have proper knowledge of Central Asian politics. Nor did he deeply ponder over the difficulties in invading Khorasan. Had he been familiar with local conditions, he could have easily seen that no matter how chaotic the internal politics of Khorasan might be, it would be impossible for a foreign power to establish or maintain its authority there. If he had coolly considered his own position, he would have realized that foreign conquest was nothing but moonshine when there was a series of rebellions distracting the government, a severe famine was stalking the land in the Doab and the Indian army neither had competent leaders like Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan nor did it possess adequate experience and training for operations in a foreign land. But the Sultan was so obsessed by the exhortations of Khorasani nobles and persistent requests by Taramshirin that he raised an army of 3,70,000 soldiers and gave it a whole year's salary in advance. But luckily, Taramshirin was deposed and the ruler of Egypt made peace with Abu Said before the Indian army started on this campaign. The Sultan was therefore obliged to abandon the scheme for good which was the only wise thing he did in this regard.

RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE EMPEROR AND OTHER MONGOL RULERS:

The power of the Mongols was fast declining in the time of Sultan Muhammad. Consequently, many of them tried to establish friendly contacts with this famous ruler of India. Besides Taramshirin, King Musa of Iraq, Queen Turabak of Khwarizm and Toghan Timur, the Emperor of China sent their envoys to establish friendly diplomatic ties with India. The Sultan also sent Ibn Batuta as his ambassador to China. Thus friendly relations between India and these Mongol states continued.

(c) *Nagarkot* (1337).—The Sultan met with some success only in the Himalayan *tarai* region. It had generally been independent. It comprised Kangra, Kartripur, Kumaon and Kamrup. Being situated in the *tarai* region they were neither very rich nor easily conquerable. But they might come under the influence of China as they had sometimes done in the past. Hence for the security of Indian frontiers it was desirable to occupy these lands. The Sultan began by invading Nagarkot. The local ruler was defeated and he accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan. As a gesture of good-will, the Sultan returned the fort to him and left the famous Jwalamukhi temple intact.

(d) *Himachal* (1337).—After the conquest of Nagarkot, the Sultan invaded another Himalayan state. Ferishta has wrongly described it as an invasion of China. Barani and Ibn Batuta do not make any reference to any invasion of China. The Sultan's forces were victorious in this region also and the local Raja acknowledged him as his overlord and agreed to send him annual tribute. But the army suffered heavy casualties because of excessive cold so that the victory turned into a virtual disaster and many contemporary and later authors have listed it among the military reverses of the Sultan.

(e) *The Deccan.*—In 1326 the governor of Sagar had rebelled in the Deccan, as will be related hereafter. The gale of insurrection soon spread to Anagondi and Dwarsamudra. Muhammad-bin-Tughluq took advantage of it to extend the frontiers of his empire to the western sea-coast and the Far South. Thus Dwarsamudra, Anagondi and Mabar became provinces of his empire. But, as we shall see later, extension of territory in this region proved disastrous to the Sultan and the Sultanate.

ESTIMATE OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY:

Thus the foreign policy of the Sultan cannot be described as a success. This is true that anecdotes bearing on his power and riches were widely circulated in foreign lands so that rulers of central and western Asia and China had established friendly diplomatic relations with him and numerous scholars, soldiers and nobles from foreign lands sought favour and protection of the Sultan. But the incidents connected with Taramshirin's coming to India and plans for the conquest of Khorasan, do not reflect credit on the Sultan. In the sub-Himalayan region, he met with only partial success for he was neither powerful enough to make annexation of territory nor sufficiently foresighted to avoid needless loss of men and money. Conquest of the Deccan also proved detrimental at the end. It may, however, be conceded that the northern and north-western frontier of the empire remained safe from foreign invasion.

NATURE AND EFFECTS OF REBELLIONS:

Another category of Sultan's military activities is suppression of revolts. The first rebellion took place in 1326, just a few months after his accession and by 1351 when the Sultan died in pursuit of a rebel he had had to deal with 22 revolts. Thus there was on an average a rebellion almost every year. The areas affected ranged from Multan in the north-west to Bengal in the east and Mabar in the south. Although they affected every part of the empire, their violence was much greater in border lands, farthest from the capital. Another remarkable thing is that a revolt in the north was generally followed by one in the south or one in the east by another in the west. Consequently the army had to be constantly engaged in long marches. In the face of slow means of communication, the wide extent of the empire entailed great hardships and on a number of occasions, the Sultan met with failure only on account of difficulties on the way. Among these revolts, the rebellion of Mabar in 1335 is of special significance. All the six revolts that preceded it were successfully suppressed by the Sultan or his agents. Although some of these revolts were of dangerous proportions, yet they did not inevitably lead to others because they were mainly due to personal reasons. But a number of the sixteen revolts that succeeded the Mabar rising proved successful and led to the foundation of independent kingdoms. Most of them were engineered by foreigners who had been attracted to India by Sultan's munificence and who had risen to high posts because of his generosity and favour. These latter revolts seem to be interlinked, one leading to the other. They undermined the strength and vitality of the Sultan and the Sultanate and gave an impetus to disintegrating forces so that by the time of the death of the Sultan, practically half the empire had been lost.

GENERAL CAUSES OF REVOLTS:

Each revolt had certain special and immediate causes but there were certain general factors which governed practically all of them. We may turn to the latter first. The empire had reached widest limits in India while the means of communication remained as slow as ever. Consequently, it was difficult to maintain strict control over distant provinces which enabled ambitious or disaffected nobles posted there to plan rebellion. Secondly, organisation of the state was feudal in character which has elements of disintegration inherent in it. Thirdly, most of the administrative changes introduced by Muhammad bin Tughluq in the early years of his reign had failed and had caused grievous financial loss to the state. This shook the very foundations of his empire and affected his popularity. The Sultan inflicted severest punishments even on suspicion of opposition. This added fuel to the fire of discontent and people began to lose faith in his bonafides. Fourthly, the Sultan tried to scrutinise conduct of the nobles with greater strictness and granted preferment to foreign nobles in order to counter-balance the power of the indigenous nobility. This led to mutual rivalry between the two groups and rising discontent among them. They raised the standard of revolt when they found the Sultan involved in difficulties. Fifthly, the Deccanis made an organised effort for regaining their independence and they secured initial success because of Sultan's preoccupation in other problems. This added to their strength and popularity. Lastly, the Sultan did not care to ponder coolly over the causes of revolt and because of his vanity he failed to employ conciliatory measures betimes.

REVOLT OF BAHAUDDIN GURSHASP (1326):

The first revolt against the Sultan took place in 1326. Bahauddin Gurshasp, a sister's son of the late Sultan had been posted at Sagar during the last reign. He had held the office of the *Ariz-i-Mumalik* and had formerly served as governor of Samana. This shows that he must have been a competent general. It is not exactly known when he was sent to the south. He probably went at the time of the Telingana campaign and was permanently posted in the south because of the recent annexations. On hearing of the death of Ghiyasuddin, Bahauddin won over some of the nobles posted in the Deccan and tried to establish an independent kingdom for himself. Some of the local nobles offered resistance to him but they had to yield before his superior might and fled towards the north. The Sultan deputed Khwaja Jahan to proceed at the head of the Gujerat army while he himself also soon followed thither. Khwaja Jahan defeated Bahauddin who fled and sought shelter with the Raja of Kampila. The Raja fought a number of engagements on his behalf but he was finally defeated. Members of his family were either killed in battle or burnt themselves alive while a few were made prisoners. But he managed to send Bahauddin to Vir Ballal exhorting him to take up his cause. In the meantime, the Sultan had reached Devagiri. Instead of taking up cudgels on his behalf, Vir Ballal thought it safer to hand over Bahauddin to Khwaja Jahan and thus demonstrate his loyalty to the Sultan.

Bahauddin was flayed alive and his skin, stuffed with straw was sent round the empire. In each important town on the way, the local people were collected, shown the hideous exhibit and told that all enemies of state would suffer a similar end. His flesh cooked with rice was sent to his people. His corpse was thus thoroughly disgraced and his flesh was offered to cats and dogs. The Sultan had hoped that it would serve as a deterrent to others. But his hopes were not realized as the sequel would show.

KISHLU KHAN'S REVOLT (1328) :

The Sultan was at the new capital Devagiri, rechristened Daulatabad, when he got the news of the revolt of Kishlu Khan, the governor of Multan. There are two different versions of what led to this unhappy event. According to Ibn Batuta, when the stuffed body of Gurshasp reached Multan, Kishlu Khan had it buried according to Islamic rites. The Sultan took umbrage at this and summoned him to court. Kishlu Khan preferred open defiance of Sultan's authority to a docile submission. Yahya on the other hand makes no reference to Gurshasp in this connection. He says that the Sultan had sent round a circular to all the nobles of the realm asking them to build for themselves a house at the new capital and to send some members of their family to reside in it. Bahram Aiba, Kishlu Khan did not comply with this order. The Sultan then sent

Ali Khatati to induce him to do so. The conversation between the royal agent and Kishlu Khan took an unhappy turn. This led to the death of Khatati in an altercation between him and Laula, the son-in-law of Kishlu Khan. Kishlu Khan feared the consequences and rose in revolt.

The Sultan hastened to Delhi, collected an army there and proceeded to Multan where he found that he was greatly outnumbered. He therefore set apart an ambuscade party of 4000 under his personal command and ordered the rest of the troops to launch the attack. Failing to meet the violent charge of Kishlu Khan's troops, the imperialists gave way, broke and fled. Kishlu Khan felt that the fighting was over and that he had achieved victory. He, therefore, ordered the camp to be plundered. When he was thus off his guard, the Sultan made a sudden charge at the head of the ambuscade party. Kishlu Khan was killed in course of fighting and his army was routed. The Sultan ordered a general massacre of the citizens of Multan because they had supported the rebellion. They were greatly dismayed and beseeched Shaikh Rukn-udddin to intercede on their behalf. As the Sultan held the Shaikh in reverence, he finally relented and ordered execution only of active participants. The head of Kishlu Knan was severed from his body and was suspended at the gate of the house in which the Sultan had put up. Ibn Batuta says that when he came to India he found the head still hanging at the original place.

THE RISING OF GHIYASUDDIN BAHADUR (1330):

The next important rising took place in Bengal. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur had been assigned the government of Sonargaon on condition that he would send his son as a hostage to Delhi. Once he had reached Bengal, he forgot all his previous promises. He made lame excuses for delay in sending his son and finally when he thought his power had been stabilised, he removed the name of the Sultan of Delhi from the *sikka* and the *khutba* and declared his independence. An army was sent against him. He was defeated and killed. His body was skinned and stuffed with straw and was circulated throughout the empire as an example to others.

REBELLIONS IN SINDH :

Another scene of disturbance was Sindh. It witnessed two revolts. First in 1328, there was a rising due to a conspiracy organised by the *Qazi* and the *Khatib* of Kamalpur. They were captured and flayed alive. The next disturbance took place in 1333 at Sehwan. The officer in-charge was a Hindu named Ratan who had received the honorific of *Azim-us-Sindh.* Some Muslims were jealous of him. One day they raised an alarm and started shouting "thief, thief!" Ratan came out to see what it was all about. The conspirators surrounded and killed him. When the Sultan heard of this, he sent instructions to Imadmululk, the governor of Sindh, to punish the culprits severely. All the chief conspirators were captured and flayed alive. Their skins were stuffed with straw and suspended down the gate and the parapets of the fort. Ibn Batuta says that when he first saw them hanging in mid-air during the night, he was greatly frightened, mistaking them for ghosts and evil spirits.

MABAR WINS INDEPENDENCE (1335) :

Next serious rising took place in the extreme South. The scene of occurrence was Mabar where the local governor assumed independence under the style of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. He issued coins in his own name. The Sultan was busy fighting a severe famine in the Doab when he got the news of this revolt in 1335. The Sultan himself marched against the rebel but when he reached Warangal a serious epidemic broke out and took a heavy toll of the nobles and soldiers accompanying the Sultan. Thousands of people lost their lives and there was a general panic in the ranks of the army. The Sultan himself fell ill. It was therefore decided to fall back upon Devagiri. This ensured independence of Mabar. Thus was initiated disintegration of the Sultanate.

MINOR RISINGS :

The rising in Mabar led to three other risings at different places. Hushang, the governor at Daulatabad got a report that the epidemic at Warangal had killed the Sultan. He therefore declared his independence. But when he got the correct news of the Sultan being still alive, he was unnerved by fear and fled for refuge to a Hindu Raja who however surrendered him to the Sultan. As Hushang was in the good books of the Sultan and his remissness was due to a misunderstanding, he was pardoned but the government of Daulatabad was now assigned to Qutlugh Khan. Just at this time, Hulajun Mongol and Gulchandra Khokhar raised the standard of revolt at Lahore because they were getting no news of the Sultan. They killed the local governor, but Khwaja Jahan promptly suppressed the rising. Sayyad Ibrahim, the son of Ahsan Shah also got the false report of the Sultan's death whereupon he seized the treasure of Sindh while in transit to Delhi and thus unfurled the standard of revolt. The Sultan wanted to overlook his crime but he behaved with such impudence that he had to be executed.

REBELLION IN BENGAL (1337) :

Bahram Khan had succeeded to the government at Sonargaon after the death of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur. After his death, his armour-bearer (*Silahdar*) occupied the throne, assumed the style of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah and issued coins in his own name. This happened sometime about 1337. Qadr Khan the governor of Lakhnauti lost his life in fighting against him so that the authority of the latter extended over Lakhnauti and Satgaon as well. A severe famine was raging in Doab at this time and the Sultan was busy with the famine relief measures. This made it impossible for him to intervene in Bengal. After sometime Lakhnauti threw off the yoke of Fakhruddin and became independent under Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. Thus there were two independent rulers in Bengal. They soon started a protracted fight for supremacy but Sultan Muhammad was so busy with other pressing business in other quarters that he could not take any advantage of this state of affairs. The result was that Bengal was lost to the empire for good.

REBELLIONS OF FARMERS OF REVENUE :

From this time onwards, financial difficulties of the Sultan seem to have multiplied. Consequently, he initiated a pernicious policy of assigning government of provinces to those who promised a larger annual revenue. But as misfortune would have it, most of them failed to collect the stipulated sum and therefore rose in rebellion. This added to the difficulties of the Sultan still further.

On his return from Warangal in 1335, the Sultan had made many new postings. Just at that time, Nusrat Khan secured the government of Bidar on promise of paying a crore of tankas to the Sultan. But he soon realized the impossibility of raising the promised sum. He had a feeling that the Sultan would punish him heavily for breach of contract. Consequently in 1337, he turned out a rebel. He was however captured and despatched to Delhi. Similarly, Nizam, the governor of Kara also rose in rebellion in 1344 but was easily overpowered.

DECCAN POLICY OF THE SULTAN:

Besides these, there were a number of other revolts but they took place either in the south or were connected with problems arising out of Deccan politics. Some revolts were caused by the fiscal reforms of the Sultan and would be mentioned in that context. We may now revert to the Deccan and examine in brief his policy and its consequences.

By the time of the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Devagiri and Warangal had been brought under the direct rule of the Sultan. Telingana had been divided into a number of units to each of which a separate governor was appointed. These governors tried to increase their power by establishing contacts with local Hindu Rajas. Conditions in the Deccan were far more complicated than in the north. The policy of annexation initiated by Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah had brought more and more territory of the south under the direct rule of the Sultan of Delhi. But the Hindu Rajas and their chiefs remained unsubdued at heart. Religious persecution by local governors fanned the flames of Hindu discontent and they began to plan how best they could avenge the indignities to their faith. Delhi was so far away from the south that the Sultan could not maintain adequate control over it from that distance. He had therefore to allow considerable freedom of action to local governors. Every Turkish nobleman in those days cherished the hope of founding an independent kingdom and he had no strong loyalties to the ruling family because dynasties tended to change rapidly and with every new dynasty a new class of nobles came into being. Their loyalty to the sovereign was thus regulated by considerations of their convenience and self-interest. Almost every able governor of the Deccan tried to assert his independence because it was far easier to do so in the south than in the north. The local Hindu population was ever willing to side with these rebels because it expected to gain by the weakness of the Sultan of Delhi. Aspirants for independence tried to win over the Hindus and sought to conciliate rather than to coerce them. Thus the enemies of the Hindus themselves became best props of their authority. Consequently, the Hindus of the Deccan had never been subjected to that sort of military and political pressure as had fallen to the lot of the Rajputs of the north. That is why they were able to mount a counter-offensive against the Turks. For a proper understanding of the revolts of the Deccan in the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq, therefore, one must bear in mind these three dominant factors viz., (1) the Deccan had been conquered only recently and it was far away from Delhi, (2) the nobles posted in the Deccan, being relatively free from a strict control by the Sultan had a natural propensity to aspire for independence and (3) the Hindu Rajas had not forgotten the insults done to their family and faith and were always on the look-out to regain their independence.

During the rebellion of Bahauddin Gurshasp, the Sultan realized the inconvenience of having the seat of government in the north. He had some taste of the pride of the Hindu Rajas also. He therefore desired subduing the Deccan thoroughly by transferring the capital to Daulatabad and remaining there. But administrative difficulties and revolts in the north did not permit him to stay in the south even for a few years at a stretch. The poor Sultan was constantly moving north, south or east according as the gale of insurrection overtook one part of his realm after the other. It was only to consolidate his power in the Deccan that he had transferred the capital at a huge cost to the exchequer. But it did him no good. Instead, his prestige sank low and his finances suffered a heavy drain in the bargain. That is why after the loss of Mabar in 1335, he permitted the settlers from the north to return home from Daulatabad.

In course of suppressing the rebellion of Gurshasp, the Sultan made some extension of territory as well. This extended the boundary of the empire further to the south and the south-west. Tales of Sultan's munificence had attracted many ambitious men from Central Asia to India. The Sultan recruited them in his army or gave them appointments in the civil administration. They have generally been called 'centurions'. Thus centurion has become a synonym for a foreign *amir*. The Sultan had appointed most of these foreign amirs in Malwa, Gujerat and the Deccan. The native nobles were extremely jealous of them and were anxious to see them dismissed, or disgraced. This led to the formation of a party of centurions which jealously guarded the interests of its members. This added another problem to the distracted politics of the Deccan. Inspite of this, upto the time of the rebellion of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah the power of the Sultan was fairly stable and none of the Turkish nobles or Hindu Rajas or the centurions was guilty of openly defying the authority of the Sultan. But the successful revolt of Ahsan Shah inspired confidence in others and the smouldering embers of disaffection burst out into such violent flames of insurrection that they reduced the Deccan empire of the Sultan into mere shambles. Gujerat, Sindh and Malwa also caught fire and the Sultan lost his life in a desperate attempt to extinguish it. For convenience of study the revolts of the south may be divided into two groups viz. (1) Hindu counter-offensive and (2) revolts of Muslim nobles.

VIJAYANAGAR FOUNDED (1336):

Hindu counter-offensive synchronised with the foundation of the independence of Mabar. At the time of the defeat of the Raja of Kampila, Harihar and Bukka who were related to Pratap Rudradeva were also captured and sent to Delhi where they were forcibly converted to Islam. But they never lost faith in the religion of their fore-fathers and remained Hindus at heart. Malik Maqbul had been posted in Telingana and Kampila fell within his sphere of influence. Hindus of that region started such a strong counter-offensive that Maqbul found it impossible to check them. The Sultan then thought of utilizing the services of Harihar and Bukka in suppressing the rising. He thought that they might succeed where Maqbul had failed because they commanded influence in that region and were at the same time loyal to him. Harihar was to function as the executive head while Bukka was to act as his minister. When the news of Harihar's appointment reached the Deccan, the insurgents were elated with joy for they regarded it as their victory over the foreigner who had been forced to yield ground before them. Harihar had promised to the Sultan that he would exercise power as his vassal. But if the local people had known this, he would have found it difficult to restore peace. If on the other hand he were to declare his independence he would be faced with a two-fold danger. On the one hand, it would have incurred the wrath of the Sultan who would have led his troops against him. On the other hand, the rulers of Mabar and Dwarsamudra could also attack him with impunity because his power at that time was fairly weak. He therefore acted with great tact and wisdom. In order to win the confidence and support of the local population, he asserted his adherence to the Hindu faith and became a disciple of the local Hindu saint Madhava Vidyaranya. He behaved like an independent prince and tried to suggest that though he did not want to indulge in needless fighting against the Sultan, he was by no means afraid of his power. But at the same time, he kept the Sultan satisfied by adopting a title no higher than that of Mahamandaleshwar. He possibly sent occasional gifts to the

Sultan which the latter interpreted as payment of tribute. Vir Ballal and Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah abstained from attacking him because they suspected him to be a vassal of the Sultan who could easily secure assistance from other governors. This gave Harihar comparative peace. He organised the government on a sound footing, made proper arrangements for the realization of taxes, appointed Vidyaranya, his spiritual preceptor, as the chief minister and on his advice founded the town of Vijayanagar. It was first named Vidyanagar in honour of the saint Vidyaranya. But it was later changed into Vijayanagar. Harihar organised his forces on an efficient basis which stabilized and extended his authority and within four or five years a part of the Konkan and the Malabar and the Tungbhadra basin passed under his control. He is regarded as the first ruler of the independent kingdom of Vijayanagar which under his successors acquired fame and strength within a short time.

VIR BALLAL III AND THE SULTANS OF MADURA:

Another Hindu leader of the south was Vir Ballal III. He had ascended the throne in 1292 and he had been a witness to the course of events since the first Turkish invasion of the Deccan. He was a valiant, energetic and warlike prince, bubbling with great ambition. But he could not hold his own against Kafur, Khusrau and, Muhammad bin Tughluq. He generally kept the Sultans of Delhi satisfied so that they had little opportunity of acquiring strength in the far south. It was due to their constant pressure that he had been forced to give up northern portion of his territory. He tried to compensate this loss by annexation and infiltration towards the south. It was at about this time that the independent kingdom of Mabar came into being. This provided Vir Ballal with a fresh field for acquiring fame and glory. He remembered full well how he himself had been obliged to lead the Turks into Madura. It was his earnest desire that by his own efforts Madura should be cleansed of the *mlechchhas* and that Hindu rule should be re-established. He therefore waged a constant war against the Sultans of Madura and annexed some of their territory. But in 1342 he suffered a disgraceful death because of his vanity and misplaced generosity. During the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah, he attacked a fort which commanded the route to Madura, occupation of which was the chief object of his invasion. When the local commander found further resistance impossible, he asked for a two week's truce to secure permission of the Sultan for surrender of the fort. Vir Ballal agreed to wait and in his vanity he felt so sure of his victory that he overlooked even elementary precautions for the safety of his army. The result was that the enemy made a successful surprise attack and Vir Ballal finding his position desperate agreed to surrender on assurance of personal safety. But once he was in the hands of the Sultan, he was shown no consideration and was flayed alive.

KRISHNANAYAK'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM:

This disaster came as a great shock to the power of the Hoysalas. But the Deccan was not without other fighters for freedom. They stepped into the gap caused by the death of Vir Ballal and efforts for freedom continued. One of these new leaders was Krishnanayak, the son of Pratap Rudradeva II. He had never given up the ambition of reviving his dynasty. When he found the Deccan empire of Sultan Muhammad battered by powerful rebellions, he found fresh incentive for collecting and organising a band of followers. The rising power of Krishnanayak obliged Malik Maqbul to evacuate Warangal and to return to Delhi. Among the Hindu rulers of the day, the most powerful were Vir Ballal and his successor Virupaksha Ballal. Consequently Krishnanayak joined hands with Vir Ballal to root out the power of the Turks. He went to meet him personally and Vir Ballal IV agreed to collaborate with him. They agreed to form a united front to drive the Turks out of Warangal, Dwarsamudra, Kampila and Mabar. He next contacted the rulers of Kampila. As they were his own relations, it was not difficult to rope in their support in favour of a united front of the Hindus. The early rulers of Vijayanagar agreed to fall in so readily because they found it in their own interest. Thus a powerful anti-Turkish front was formed south of the Godawari which drove out the agents of Sultan Muhammad and tried to liquidate the principality of Mabar. But in this latter objective, they did not meet with immediate success. Ballál IV died fighting against Mabar in 1346. This defeat ultimately proved beneficial to Hindu aspirations for most of Hoysala territory finally passed into the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagar who acquired such accession of strength that it became impossible for the independent kingdom of Mabar to contiue. But this happened after the death of Sultan Muhammad. This however is clear that as a result of the efforts of Harihar and Bukka, Vir Ballal III, Krishnadeva Nayak and Virupaksha Ballal, Sultan Muhammad lost all territory in the Deccan except Devagiri.

MUSLIM REVOLTS:

It were the foreign centurions who put an end to Sultan Muhammad's authority over the rest of the lands south of the Narbada. Previous Muslim revolts serve as a back-ground to this final *coup de grace*. A brief reference to them should therefore precede an account of the foundation of an independent Muslim kingdom in Devagiri.

Revolts of Bahauddin Gurshasp, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, Hushang and Nusrat Khan have been referred to already. The first rising of the centurions took place in 1339. The leader of this revolt was Ali Shah, a follower of Qutlugh Khan. He was deputed to collect the royal dues from Gulbarga. He murdered the local governor Bhairon and seized the royal treasure. He then attacked and occupied Bidar. But Qutlugh Khan put down his rising and sent him as a prisoner to the Sultan who sent him away to Ghazni. He was however executed when he returned to India without previous permission.

REVOLT OF AIN-UL-MULK (1340-1341):

The Sultan was not quite satisfied with Deccan affairs. He had some misgivings against his former tutor Qutlugh Khan and intended appointing some abler person in his stead. He fixed upon Ain-ul-mulk Multani as a suitable person. Barani has praised the administration of Qutlugh Khan as highly efficient and benevolent but he has not told us how his benevolence affected the subordinate staff. The people were on the whole happy and contented because the local officials were not oppressive, taxes were not excessively heavy and punishments were comparatively light. But his benevolence led to one unfortunate development. The local officers would not render a timely account of their collections and were guilty of embezzling government funds. Thus the policy of Qutlugh Khan benefited everybody except the Sultan. Ain-ul-mulk Multani the governor of Awadh was an able and experienced officer and was a personal friend of the Sultan. The Sultan therefore decided to entrust the Deccan to his charge. But when Ain-ul-mulk received orders for transfer he raised the standard of revolt. This was entirely due to a misunderstanding. The brothers of Ain-ul-mulk thought that the Sultan probably wanted to discredit him by sending him to the Deccan and to make that as a basis for his disgrace and punishment.

When the news of this revolt reached the Sultan, he felt greatly distressed.

Ain-ul-mulk was openly on war path. He assumed the style of Alauddin and declared his independence. He then led a force of 50,000 against the Sultan. The Sultan rapidly moved towards Kanauj and sent urgent summons to all the local officers to join him with their contingents. The two armies contacted each other near Kanauj and in the battle that ensued Ain-ul-mulk was defeated and captured. He was brought to the audience hall dressed in tatters and was subjected to jeering insults by the vulgar assemblage. He was thus thoroughly humiliated. The Sultan showed him the generosity of throwing him into prison, instead of ordering his execution and after a short term of imprisonment, he was pardoned and released.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF CENTURIONS:

Revolt of Ain-ul-mulk created another obstacle in the subjugation and settlement of the Deccan. The Sultan stayed away at Delhi for over three years to restore order in the north. In the meantime he learnt of seditious activities of the centurions. The centurions were mostly foreign *amirs* though they did not all belong to any single country. They included men of diverse races such as Mongols, Afghans and Turks. Some native Muslims and Rajputs had also joined their ranks. They were generally commanders of hundred soldiers with authority to collect taxes from about hundred villages. They had no sense of loyalty to the state. But they were bold and warlike and were eager to amass maximum wealth within the shortest possible time. The abler ones among them had received more responsible offices. Malwa, Gujerat, Devagiri and Bidar were joined together to form a viceroyalty under the general control of a viceroy who had his headquarters at Daulatabad. Between 1341-1345, the Sultan received numerous complaints charging the centurions with dishonesty, greed, insubordination and embezzlement of government funds. The Sultan realized the need of appointing a new set of officers to bring the centurions to book. He therefore recalled Qutlugh Khan to Delhi on the excuse of showing him the letter of investiture from the caliph and directed Nizamuddin the governor of Gujerat to officiate as the viceroy at Daulatabad. He appointed new governors for Malwa, Gujerat and Bidar. They were instructed to collect the taxes with vigour and promptness and to put down all opposition with a strong hand. One of these was Aziz Khummar, a vintner's son. He was appointed governor of Malwa. He was specially instructed to put down the revolt of centurions. He called one day 89 of them and administered a strong rebuke. But he later entertained them at a feast and plied them with wine. Under the influence of liquor, they soon fell fast asleep. Aziz took advantage of this to murder them all in cold blood. The Sultan was pleased to hear this news but it was condemned by practically all sections of people. The centurions were particularly alarmed. A rumour went round that they would all meet the same fate. Consequently, the centurions became more disaffected than ever and began to plan for their safety.

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLT:

Dismissal of Qutlugh Khan had caused some discontent among the people. Severity of new officers made them all the more dissatisfied. Lack of full cooperation by the centurions made it difficult to realize the taxes in full. Thus there was no improvement in the finances of the state. Because of disturbed conditions in Malwa, it was considered unsafe to send the Deccan revenues to Delhi. The Sultan had therefore ordered that all collections in the Deccan should be pooled at Dharagarh near

Daulatabad. Malik Maqbul, just then started with Gujerat treasure to escort it to Delhi. But the centurions surprised him one night and captured all the treasure and a number of good horses. They utilized this money to collect an army and broke out into open revolt. Aziz Khummar marched against them to secure credit for suppressing them. But in the conflict that ensued he was defeated and subjected to an inglorious death. This led to serious disorders in Malwa and the rebels gained accession in strength and numbers. Malik Maqbul sought shelter in the fort of Anhilwara.

SUPPRESSION OF REVOLT IN GUJERAT :

When the Sultan heard of these developments, he entrusted the government of Delhi to Malik Firuz, Malik Kabir and Khwaja Jahan and himself proceeded towards Gujerat. Qutlugh Khan advised the Sultan not to go there in person and offered to put down the revolt on his behalf. But the Sultan rejected his advice. The news of Sultan's approach caused consternation in the ranks of the rebels and they fled helter-skelter. Malik Maqbul went in pursuit of one of the rebel groups and defeated it on the banks of the Narbada, capturing a number of them along with their dependants. The Sultan ordered their wholesale execution. This convinced the centurions that the Sultan would grant them no quarter. Consequently the survivors determined to rise in revolt. The Sultan, on the other hand, decided to press his advantage home and inflicted severe punishments on all those who had attacked Maqbul or had offered any opposition to him. This awed the whole of Gujerat but the causes of discontent still remained.

DISAFFECTION AT DEVAGIRI :

The centurions at Devagiri feared nemesis might soon overtake them too. They therefore began devising plans for self-defence. Successful rebellion appeared to them the only means of escape. Hence they granted an asylum to all fugitives from Gujerat and Malwa and started secret military preparations. Just then the Sultan deputed a committee of enquiry to look into the accounts of the officers employed under the viceroy of Daulatabad. This was followed by another *farman* summoning fifteen hundred military officers and centurions to the royal presence. They bowed to the decision of the Sultan but they did not feel at ease about their security. While on the way, they were treated with severity. This added to their suspicions. The royal escort acted with great tactlessness. The result was that the centurions decided to surprise them in their beds and massacred most of them while they were lying asleep. They then turned back and on reaching Daulatabad arrested Nizamuddin whom they threw into prison while the other officials were put to the sword. The fort passed under their control and they elected Malik Makh Afghan as their Sultan. The entire Maratha land was divided among them and they proceeded to consolidate their power. This success electrified the political atmosphere and signs of disaffection once more became visible in Berar, Khandesh, Malwa and Gujerat. Devagiri became the rallying centre of all the rebels in this region.

BAHMANI KINGDOM FOUNDED :

On hearing of this revolt, the Sultan repaired to Devagiri and defeated the rebels. But they did not lose cohession or confidence. They divided their forces leaving some of their leaders to hold on at Daulatabad while the rest moved away to Bidar, Gulbarga and other forts. Just then came the news of the revolt of Taghi in Gujerat. The sultan thought that the backbone of the rebels had been broken and the task of their extermination could safely be left to the care of his subordinates. He therefore resolved to march into Gujerat. This was a blunder on the part of the Sultan for it raised the morale of the rebels while the Sultan's officers began to quarrel among themselves about plans of campaign. The siege of the fort continued. In the meantime, Hasan Kangu secured some assistance also from Krishna Nayak. He now started a strong offensive against the imperialists and by a series of victories forced them to evacuate the Deccan completely. Malik Makh Afghan was so impressed with his success that he himself proposed to step down in his favour. With the concurrence of other leaders, Hasan was raised to the throne at Daulatabad in 1347 and he assumed the style of Alauddin Bahman Shah. Thus was founded the Bahmani Kingdom which gave a *coup de grace* to Sultan Muhammad's empire in the Deccan. Luckily for Hasan, the Sultan could never disengage himself from the fight against Taghi to turn his attention towards the Deccan.

TAGHI'S REVOLT (1347-1351) :

Taghi, the rebel in Gujerat, owed his advancement to the favours of the Sultan. But in the political conditions of those days a sense of gratitude could not interfere with rebellious tendencies. Gujerat was already seething with discontent. Recent appointments had gone in favour of low and unworthy persons. Hindu chiefs were ever willing to lend a helping hand against established Muslim authority. The political climate was thus favourable to Taghi leading a revolt. He killed the governor, seized Anhilwara and Cambay and attacked Broach. An ever increasing stream of adherents flocked under his banner and with the help of the treasure captured at Anhilwara and Cambay he enlisted a numerous army. The Sultan dashed forward to intercept him at Broach but he fell back. Hotly contested engagements took place near Anhilwara and Cambay but Taghi was finally forced to cross into Sindh. Relieved of his presence, the Sultan proceeded to set the affairs of Gujerat in order. In the meantime he called in reinforcements from Delhi and with this accession of strength proceeded against Thatta where Taghi was encamping. But when close to the town he suddenly fell ill and died in March 1351.

Reflections on the Sultan's Deccan policy :

Thus Deccan possessions proved a great liability for the Sultan. The first revolt of his reign began in the South. To consolidate his power in the Deccan, the Sultan transferred his capital. This not only depleted his treasury but also lowered the stock of his popularity. It was in the Deccan for thefirst time that an indenpendent kingdom was founded which let loose the forces of disintegration. Large extent of the empire and slow means of communication so handicapped the Sultan that he could retain his grip neither on the North nor on the South. One province after another was lost to the empire and independent kingdoms at Madura, Vijayanagar, Warangal, Dwarsamudra and Gulbarga divided all the southern possessions of the Sultan between them. Contact with the Deccan adversely affected even the North. Transfer of capital led to Kishlu Khan's revolt. An effort at reorganising the Deccan administration led to the frightful rebellion of Ain-ul-mulk Multani. Failing to realize the taxes from the Deccan intime, the Sultan initiated the policy of farming of revenues which was practised in some parts of the North also. This led to revolts at Kara, Samana and Sunnam. The revolts of Lahore and Hansi came in the wake of that of Ahsan Shah and with a view to suppressing the revolts of centurions in the Deccan measures had to be taken against them in Malwa and Gujerat which sowed the seeds of grave discontent there as well as in Sindh and affected the stability of the North. It would therefore be not far wrong to assert that one of the principal causes of the Sultan's failure was his dominion over the South. The same story was to be repeated once again during the rule of the Mughals. It is only in modern times that with advance in rapid means of communication it has been possible to link up the North and the South under a common government. Before this it was the uniform experience of the Mauryas, the Satavahans, the Rashtrakutas, the Tughluqs, the Mughals and the Marathas that the North and the South could not be kept under a common government for long. The Sultan had to face disaster only because of overlooking this lesson of history. But it was not he who initiated the error of establishing direct government over the Deccan. He had only inherited it from his predecessors and like Aurangzeb he suffered for the fault of others. True, he made some mistakes in the administration of the Deccan but even if he had avoided them he could not have prevented acquisition of independence by Mabar, Kampila, Warangal, and Dwarsamudra and this was bound to have encouraged rebellious tendencies elsewhere.

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY OF THE SULTAN:

Sultan Muhammad was a scholarly, truth-seeking and discriminating individual. Dr. Mehdi Husain has brought to light a few pages of a manuscript purporting to be an autobiography of the Sultan which reveals him to be an eager seeker after truth. He was unwilling to accept anything unsupported by reason and logic. It is often said that religion is a matter of faith and not of logic. But the Sultan insisted that no sensible person could have faith in anything, even in God, as long as all his doubts had not been removed and an intellectual basis for faith had not been created. This attitude of the Sultan affected his administrative policy too. He was not prepared to accept that the political and religious principles suited to 7th century Arabia could as well be applicable to 14th century India in their original form. The knowledge that he had acquired of religion and law had left an indelible impression on his mind that the custodians of religion—the *ulema*, maulvis, Sayyads and saints—were so selfish and depraved that they had sanctioned and enforced great inequities just to promote their own self-interest. From his personal experience also he had known that the *ulema* were narrow-minded bigots, steeped in ignorance and vanity. When he called them for a free exchange of views and engaged them in discussion, he found them dogmatic, superstitious, ignorant and unintelligent. They were incapable of logical presentation of the principles of their faith, puerile in argument and unprogressive in their ideas. Hence he lost all respect for them and regarded it fatal to the state and unfair to the people to grant them (*ulema*) any special privileges in administration. So far they had enjoyed a monopoly of posts in the judicial and the ecclesiastical departments. Sultan Muhammad put an end to this for he thought that the mental attitude of the *ulema* was just the reverse of what is necessary for impartial justice or real piety. He therefore went far ahead of Alauddin in the direction of secularism. Alauddin did what he thought best and said to the *ulema* that his primary concern was welfare of the state and in subserving it he did not bother about what would happen to him in the world hereafter. He however had regard for the *ulema*, consulted them and even followed their advice wherever practicable. He also confessed his ignorance of the law which necessitated reference of legal problems to the jurists. But Muhammad bin Tughluq was a highly learned person who had made a deep and critical study of the *Quran*, the *Hadis* and allied literature. He knew first-hand that the *ulema* were comparatively ignorant and were so utterly incompetent to remove metaphysical doubts that it was much better to adopt idolatry than to be guided by them. He therefore regarded it useless to exchange views with them. He therefore not only rejected the policy advocated by them but stopped all converse with them regarding religion and law. They were reduced to the status of ordinary citizens which gave a great blow to their sense of vanity. He formulated his policy on the basis of experience, personal study and deliberation with due regard to principles of Islam and formulated a code of law which Barani mentions but omits to describe. Muhammad was thus intellectually and philosophically driven to reject theocracy as inadequate and unsound and based his government on discreet prgamatism. He conceded equality of all citizens and putting aside all sectarian and racial privilege threw office open to talent. Both Barani and Isami condemn him for this. The former gets so unbalanced in his judgment that he ascribes the failure of the Sultan to appointment of low class people to high office. Among this class of people he mentions Aziz the vintner, Firuz the barber, Manaka a cook, Ladha gardener and Maqbul the minstrel. By including Maqbul in this list, Barani has testified to his own prejudice, for Maqbul was a highly able and competent administrator so that he rose to be the *wazir* and the *naib* under Sultan Firuz Tughluq.

The Sultan was also aware that supersession of the older nobility would make them disaffected. He therefore freely appointed persons coming from foreign lands like Khorasan, Iraq, Persia, Bokhara and Samarqand. This led to many practical difficulties. The *ulema* got deeply hostile to him and sowed the seeds of disaffection far and wide. During the last years of the Sultan, says Badauni, they even plotted to dethrone him. Hindustani nobles regarded preferment of foreigners a reflection on their probity and ability. This made them sullen and disaffected. Some of the low-class favourites proved unworthy. This made all new appointments suspect in the eyes of the people. Foreigners never secured a whole-hearted cooperation from the nobles of the land. This naturally made them apprehensive about their future. Common self-interest brought them all close together and thus made a faction of them. They had no sense of devotion for the land of their adoption. They were mere self-seeking adventurers. Hence when action was taken against some of them, they all rose in revolt in a body. Thus the Sultan failed in his objective. The main reason for his failure was his vanity and disregard of other people's feelings. He not only kept the *ulema* out of office but poured contempt on them. He was over generous to the foreigners and offered them appointments without discrimination. This upset the balance of power in the state.

TREATMENT OF HINDUS:

The policy of religious intolerance had undergone a change from the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Instances of iconoclastic fury or forcible conversion are no longer heard of during his reign. The Hindus recruited to government service under Khusrau or Mubarak Shah were dismissed only if guilty of some grave political crime. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq the same policy continued or was even further liberalised. Thus after the conquest of Nagarkot he made no attempt to destroy or desecrate the Jwalamukhi temple as was to be done by his successor Firuz. Besides, in his quest for the truth, he sought the company of Hindu *Yogis* and learnt Sanskrit in order to acquire facility in appreciating their philosophical standpoint. He appointed Hindus to high offices. Ratan held a key-post in Sindh and was given the title of *Azim-us-Sindh*. Bhairon was appointed to hold charge of Gulbarga while after the recall of Qutlugh Khan from the Deccan, Dharadhar was appointed head of the finance department at Devagiri. His efforts for famine relief and improvement of agriculture testify to his concern for the welfare of his Hindu subjects. He did not toe the line of Alauddin and Ghiyasuddin in terrorising the Hindus into submission by heavy taxation. This shows that the policy of the Sultan towards the Hindus was far more enlightened and just than that of any of his predecessors and he did not do any thing merely to oppress them. During his reign, the Hindus suffered, if ever, not for their religious convictions but for their political crimes.

RELATIONS WITH THE CALIPH:

Sultan Muhammad is the second person who is definitely known to have contacted the Caliph. The circumstances in which Iltutmish secured a letter of investiture from the Caliph have been detailed in a foregoing chapter. The Caliphate then passed through such travail that two members of the Abbasid family sought shelter with Balban and became pensioners at his court. The fate of the rest of the family was unknown to anybody in India. Inspite of this, all the Sultans of Delhi with the solitary exception of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah continued to reverence the name of the Caliph. Muhammad bin Tughluq relying on his rationalism first regarded it improper to exercise sovereignty on the basis of a letter of investiture from some outsider. Hence upto 1341, he did nothing in this direction. But when he found opposition by the *ulema* and the nobility constantly on the increase, he tried to discover and counteract the causes of disaffection. He then had a feeling that it was probably the penalty for subordinating respect for Allah to mere reason. Hence to curry favour with Allah he modified not only his private conduct but also his public policy. He appointed censors to scrutinise the conduct of

Muslims. They were empowered to enforce conformity to principles of Islam and all derelicts were suitably punished. Arguing on the same lines he thought that disregard of the authority of the descendants of the Caliph of God's prophet was perhaps a serious omission. He might have also hoped that a letter of investiture from the Caliph would silence the *ulema* who would be obliged to regard him as the legal sovereign and to become props of his authority. Consequently, in 1340-1341 the Sultan sought a letter of investiture from the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. Before he could respond, a person named Ghiyasuddin claiming to be a descendant of the Abbasids happened to come to India. The Sultan looked upon this as an act of Divine Grace and tried to earn religious merit by providing for him an ample allowance for a life of comfort and ease at the royal capital. Later in 1344 and 1346 letters were received also from the Caliph. The Sultan paid homage not only to the letters but even to those who had brought them. His humiliation and abnegation of himself in showing respect to those letters and their author reached the verge of base flattery. This scandalised the people who lost all respect for the Sultan and the tempo of rebellion remained unaffected. Thus this too helped in the disintegration of the empire.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION:

In the central, provincial and local administration, Muhammad bin Tughluq introduced no far-reaching changes. The Sultan toned up administrative efficiency at the centre by increasing the number of departments and the requisite personnel and rationalised their mutual relations. No change seems to have been made in the general provincial set-up. About local government Dr. Mehdi Husain has made some novel observations. According to him, each province was divided into a number of *shiqs* or districts while each *shiq* was subdivided into a number of units of hundred parganas or villages. These units had a central town as the headquarter and a centurion as the head. But he refers to no contemporary authority in support of his interpretation of the word centurion. Hence it is quite probable that local administration remained virtually as it had been before.

TRANSFER OF CAPITAL (1327):

Among the reforms of the Sultan nothing has gained such notoriety as the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri. Although a number of tales hang around this episode but modern research has helped to fix up its character and importance. It took place in 1327 after the rebellion of Bahauddin Gurshasp and before that of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan.

(a) *Causes.*—The transfer was attempted principally due to two reasons. The limit of the empire had inordinately increased so that it was difficult to control it effectively from Delhi. Early success of the revolt of Bahauddin Gurshasp brought this fact into a much bolder relief. The Sultan therefore decided to transfer the seat of government to Devagiri which was more centrally situated and from where Lakhnauti, Lahore, Multan, Delhi and Mabar were practically equidistant. Secondly, the Deccan had been conquered only recently. Upto 1296 no Deccan ruler had any contacts with the Sultan of Delhi. Military conquest of the Deccan was first accomplished in 1312 but no attempt was made to displace any ruling dynasty. On the contrary, they were generously treated and retained as tributaries. Annexation was initiated in 1318 and by 1327 it had reached its apotheosis. But even during this period of thirty years impression gained ground that it was difficult to perpetuate authority over the

Deccan because tributary rajas were always on the look-out to withhold payment of tribute and when an attempt was made to set them aside altogether, the Muslim governor began plotting for independence. Hence the Sultan realized the imperative need for paying greater attention to the Deccan. Transfer of capital to the Deccan was not likely to cause any disturbance in the north because Mongol invasions had already stopped and authority of the Sultan had found firmer roots in northern India.

But some contemporary and even modern authors have referred to certain other causes which do not appear to be credible. Yahya says that famine and increased taxation had caused a general discontent in the Doab. In order to punish the Hindus of the region, he ordered all the residents of Delhi to move away to Devagiri (rechristened Daulatabad). Ibn Batuta says that some people of Delhi were dissatisfied with the policy of the Sultan. They wrote letters full of abusive language and dropped them into the palace during the night. The Sultan was unable to spot out the miscreants and hence to chastise the inhabitants of Delhi as a whole, he decided to denude the capital of all its population. Barani says that the Sultan wanted to destroy the middle and higher classes. Hence he ordered a general evacuation. But all these are mere cock and bull stories for Delhi was never fully evacuated and important offices like the mint continued to be located there throughout the reign.

One writer suggests that he wanted to remove the capital far from the north-western frontier in order to keep it safe from Mongol invasions. But Alauddin and Balban had succeeded in the defence of their frontier only because the capital was at hand. If the capital had been moved away, it might have remained safe but northern India would have been lost to the invader. Then, there was no immediate danger of any foreign invasion. Hence this suggestion also is unworthy of acceptance.

(b) *Character of transfer.*—Let us now examine what the Sultan actually did and how. It appears that he considered it desirable to have two capitals for efficient control over the empire. This surmise finds support in the statement of Masalik-ul-absar that the Sultanate of Delhi had two capitals, Delhi and Devagiri (Quwwat-ul Islam). Besides we have coins issued from the Delhi mint, corresponding to the years 1327, 1328 and 1329. Further we know that at the time of Bahram Aiba's rebellion the Sultan had halted at Delhi to recruit an army and spent two years there after the suppression of the revolt. It therefore appears that while retaining Delhi as the eapital in the North, he wanted to make Daulatabad a capital for Malwa, Gujerat and the Deccan. If the Sultan had been able to stay at Devagiri for long, its importance would have certaintly become greater than that of Delhi. But this did not happen and the Sultan was obliged to spend most of his time in the North. In order to enhance the prestige of Devagiri, he wished to settle there members of the royal family and prominent nobles, scholars and saints. This would have made it a centre of Muslim culture and it was with added numbers alone that Muslim authority could be consolidated over the Deccan. Hence the Sultan sent there his own mother Makhdum-i-Jahan. At the same time he also sent there some of his principal courtiers, great scholars, royal stores and the establishments of horses and elephants. Some soldiers, businessmen and office personnel would have also accompanied them. The Sultan took a number of steps for the convenience of these people. He repaired the road from Delhi to Daulatabad and established markets at convenient distances where all necessary articles could be secured. Those who were short of funds for building a house at Daulatabad were permitted to sell their Delhi houses to the Sultan, so that they could use the funds thus obtained at the new capital. He also provided transport and other facilities. But to many it must have appeared as a chastisement and they must have encountered serious difficulties in settling at a distant and unfamiliar place. That is why Barani says that very few among the emigrants survived the change long enough to be able to return to Delhi later. The citizens of Delhi did not find Daulatabad congenial even after lapse of time. Consequently, when the Sultan fell ill on his way to Mabar and returned to Daulatabad he allowed all those people to return to Delhi who were unhappy in their new environment. Thus after a lapse of about eight years, the Sultan was constrained to admit his error even though only partially.

(c) *Effects.*—This measure has brought great odium to the Sultan. Adverse critics have not been content merely with calling him a cruel and short-sighted tyrant but have gone to the length of charging him with insanity. The Sultan had to sink huge sums to make this scheme a success. But it proved a failure and caused great resentment among the people while the glory of Delhi was lost for ever and it could never regain its former aspect. Numerous people lost their lives and thousands of well-to-do families became paupers. But this must be conceded that whatever consolidation of the Deccan had been possible was due only to Daulatabad becoming the headquarters of imperial authority in the Deccan. Daulatabad gained in prestige, its citadel was strengthened and its stores augmented. The army located there successfully met the challange of many a local revolt. But when the custodians of Daulatabad themselves became hostile to the Sultan, the fort and its resources made them so powerful that they succeeded in eliminating Tughluq authority from the Deccan altogether.

LAND SETTLEMENT :

Another series of reforms of the Sultan relates to land settlement. Some of his measures under this head also have provoked bitter comments. But quite a number were quite sound and useful. Immediately after his coronation, he issued a number of regulations and opened a new department to attend to their execution. Provincial *wazirs* and treasurers had now to send regularly statements of income and expenditure. The accounts were thoroughtly audited and no arrears were allowed to remain. But if some officers were found to be in arrears, they were severely dealt with and the Sultan established a separate department, called the *Diwan-i-Mustakhrij* to recover all such dues. Realization of land revenue from the peasants followed the same procedure as before. The only change was the appointment of a new officer called the centurion. His principal function was to realize all arrears of revenue and to prevent their accumulation in future. They supervised the work of Khots, Muqaddams, Chaudhris, Amils and Mutsarrifs of about 100 villages.

ENHANCED TAXATION IN THE DOAB:

The measure that has loomed largest among these reforms is the enhancement of taxation in the Doab. Barani ascribes it to Sultan's tyranny and blood-thirstiness. Many later historians have followed suit and condemned the measure in strong terms. Barani has deliberately distorted things and falsified the sequence of events in order to produce the desired effect. But a critical survey of the available data shows that the Sultan decided to enhance the land tax in the Doab because of richness of its soil. If the tax was kept low, the Hindu chiefs soon grew rich and became disaffected.

Hence low taxation was found to be inconsistent with the security of the realm. Alauddin had demanded 50% as his share. Qutbuddin Mubarak had probably reverted to 33%. Ghiyas had permitted a maximum increase of 9% to 10%. Hence in his reign the tax might have stood at about 40%. Muhammad thought that there was still scope for an increase by 5% to 10%. Hence he issued an order accordingly. Barani and Habib-us-siyar instead of mentioning an increase of one in ten or twenty make the astounding statement that instead of one tanka the Sultan demanded ten and even twenty.

DISAFFECTION AND REVOLT :

Under normal conditions, this increase would have caused little or no resentment. But at the time, a number of circumstances conspired to add to popular misery which led to a general sense of discontent. Doab was notorious for the presence of certain disaffected elements. They added fuel to the fire. Instead of looking into the causes of discontent, the Sultan tried to suppress them by force. This worsened the situation in the beginning. Other regulations of the Sultan were already disliked by the Hindu middlemen (Khots, Muqaddams etc.) because they made embezzlement of funds extremely difficult. Now that the Sultan had enhanced the taxes they could not subject the people to further rackrenting. This affected their pocket. Hence they opposed the measure purely on grounds of self-interest. They might have even felt that if no protest was made, the Sultan might increase the taxes still further. In such an atmoshere there might have been some laxity in collection of taxes from the peasants. But the royal officers tried to effect a total realization from the middlemen lest they themselves should be punished. This added to popular discontent. Just then, rains were deficient in certain areas so that crops were poor. In such circumstances usually remissions were allowed. But the peasant was exasperated to find that the state not only gave no remission but effected an increase even over the normal levy. Local Hindu leaders must have fanned the fire of discontent. Hence when royal officers adopted an attitude of stern severity, they were attacked and some of them killed. Government retaliated by exacting retribution. This led to submission of people in some areas. But in others opposition got so strong that even centurions and their soldiers were attacked and killed. Rajput chiefs joined in the melee, held the roads and captured all the grain bound for the capital. Things had now gone quite far and strong royal intervention was deemed to be imminent. Hence as a precautionary measure, they adopted the scorched earth policy and sought shelter in the woods where they could also graze their cattle. The affected area extended from Baran to Kanauj while Dalmau was a veritable storm centre. When the Sultan was informed of these developments he decided to move in person against the malcontents because suspension of agriculture in the Doab coupled with bold daylight robberies on the roads had not only created famine conditions in the capital but had also compromised the dignity of the sovereign. He surrounded the jungles and inflicted severe punishments on those who had made them their hideouts. The ringleaders were executed while the common folk were forced to return to their fields and to resume agriculture. Barani has distorted and unduly exaggerated what had happened and says that the peasants in the grip of a famine and oppressed by heavy taxation were hunted down like wild animals. But in comparison to what Balban and Alauddin did to rebels against their authority the measures adopted by Muhammad appear generous and humane.

FAMINE-RELIEF AND AGRICULTURAL REFORMS :

But neither man nor nature took kindly to him and famine continued to stalk the land for years together. The tax in the Doab had been increased in 1326. It was soon followed by a famine which lasted for about 3 years. Then there was good harvest for three years or so. Then there was a longer spell of famine lasting from 1334 to 1341. Then there were famines in Gujerat and the Deccan. All this meant a great headache for the Sultan. It has already been noticed how famine prevented the Sultan from making suitable arrangements for the suppression of revolts in Mabar, Bengal, Vijayanagar and Warangal. During 1337-1340, he had to transfer large sections of the Delhi population and persons attached to the court to a place near Kanauj where rationing facilities were so adequate and edifying that the people called it *Swargadwari* (i. e. the gateway of heaven).

The Sultan took effective measures to fight the famine. He remitted or reduced the tax in the affected area, sank wells for purposes of irrigation and advanced loans to the cultivators to resume agriculture. Grain was freely distributed and, in some places, there was provision even for distributing cooked food. As long as possible, he collected supplies at Delhi and provided for equitable distribution of grain. But when supplies broke down, he temporarily shifted to Swargadwari and from there tried to offer maximum help to the people. But this too was a mere drop in the ocean and lakhs of people were starved to death while agriculture in the Doab suffered heavy setback and numberless villages got depopulated.

Between 1341 and 1344, the Sultan hit upon a new scheme. An uninhabited region in the Doab was fixed upon as the site for reclamation and settlement. It measured 60 miles square. The

Agriculture ministry undertook the development of the area and it was provided with a contingent of 100 shiqdars for day-to-day supervision. Not even an inch of territory was to remain fallow. A sum of 70 lakhs of tankas was set apart for the execution of this scheme. The officers were also promised bonuses and gratuities for good work. But they proved to be selfish and grafting and the absence of the Sultan in Gujerat and the Deccan enabled them to embezzle large sums of money.

It is thus noticed that all his measures for agricultural reform or increase in revenue were defeated by an adverse fate, dishonest officers and distrustful peasanty. Inspite of this, it stands to his credit that he spent crores of tankas from the royal treasury to alleviate the sufferings of starving millions and to counteract the evil effects of famine as speedily as possible.

CURRENCY REFORMS :

The Sultan made a number of remarkable changes in the currency of the realm as well. Each issue was now made shapely and artistic in design. Quranic verses inscribed on the coins were carefully and tastefully selected. A new coin called the *dokani* was introduced. Small coins were minted in bulk so that the people might suffer no inconvenience. Keeping the changed relative value of gold and silver in view he increased the weight of the gold tanka to 200 grains while the silver tanka was reduced to 140 grains so that ten silver tankas might still be equivalent to one gold tanka. But this did not prove satisfactory. Hence in 1332 the older practice of having both gold and silver tankas of 175 grains was restored.

TOKEN COPPER CURRENCY :

But scarcity of silver led to another novel experiment which proved a total failure. In 1330, the Sultan minted copper tankas and ordered that they should be treated as equivalent to silver tankas. This measure proved useful in the beginning but later on it caused serious problems. Most of the people failed to appreciate the value of a token currency and were at a loss to understand how a royal order could equate silver with copper. Wiseacres spread the rumour that it was a clever design on the part of the Sultan to grab all silver tankas and garner them in the royal treasury while all future transactions would be made only through the copper issue. This led to a panic and everybody tried to hold back the silver tanka. All goldsmiths of even moderate skill devoted themselves to mere counterfeiting of copper tokens. Thus there was a surfeit of coins in circulation. This naturally led to its depreciation and most people began to prefer copper tankas for payments and silver or gold issues for receipts. Businessmen refused to accept the tokens which paralysed trade and caused great misgivings. The Sultan was hence obliged to intervene. An order was issued withdrawing the tokens and all holders of them were advised to exchange them for gold or silver issues from the royal treasury. A huge pile was collected at Delhi alone but no contemporary or later historian charges the Sultan with refusal to pay gold or silver tankas in exchange. Thus the finances of the state were subjected to a sore trial but its credit remained unimpaired. It was soon a thing of the past and conditions became peaceful once again. In the sequel, the Sultan alone was found to have been the loser while many people grew rich at the cost of the state.

Why did the Sultan introduce token currency at all? Principally because of scarcity of silver. Not only India but the outside world also suffered from it. Scarcity of silver tankas from now on to the end of the Lodis is due mainly to short supplies of silver. But in the absence of an adequate supply of silver tankas great inconvenience was caused in everyday life. How was this to be remedied? This taxed the imagination of the Sultan who had a love for novelty and was noted for his resourcefulness. He was eager to leave behind a name for intelligence and originality. Hence when he was informed of use of token currency in Persia and China he determined to give it a trial in India too. Some authors have suggested that suppression of revolts, organisation of famine relief, introduction of novel schemes, construction of new palaces and extravagant gifts had meant a heavy drain on the royal treasury and the Sultan wanted to tide over his financial difficulties by this clever device. But if the Sultan had a depleted treasury how was he able to offer gold tankas in exchange for the token coins? Hence the above suggestion is hard to accept. Others describe the Sultan as whimsical and capricious and aver that when he heard of the use of token coins in foreign lands, he ordered their introduction in India as well. But this too is unworthy of credence because no unimpeachable proof of the Sultan's whimsicality has been furnished.

In modern times, all civilized nations have adopted token currency and its value is recognized by competent economists. But in the 14th century India, it had little chance of success. Even in modern times, many ignorant people accept it only as a necessary evil. Besides, for the success of token currency it is essential that it should not be easily counterfeited. Muhammad bin Tughluq made a mistake in introducing it without giving adequate thought to this aspect of the question. If there had been an efficient machinery for apprehending counterfeiters and imposing on them deterrent punishments, the scheme may not have come to such a sorry end so soon.

OTHER REFORMS:

Muhammad's love for justice led to far happier results and has received high encomiums at the hands of historians. He appointed competent non-ecclesiastics also and personally held durbar twice a week every Monday and Thursday only to administer justice. The capital was provided with special arrangements. At each of the four gates of the *diwan-i-khana* was posted a nobleman to redress the grievances of the people. If somebody failed to interest anyone of them in his case, he could go direct to Sadr-i-Jahan (i. e. the Chief Justice of the realm) and failing him to the Sultan himself. Mubarak Khan, a brother of the Sultan was appointed Mir-i-Dad and was charged with the responsibility of bringing to book all those nobles and high officials who escaped punishment by brow-beating the *Qazi*. Equality before law was uniformly enforced and the Sultan did not hesitate to inflict severe punishments even on the *ulema* and the *Sayyads* if they were found guilty of transgressing the law. He permitted suits to be brought even against himself. Once Shaikhzada Jami described the Sultan as a tyrant. The matter was at once referred to a *Qazi* and the Shaikhzada was asked to substantiate his charge. But when he failed to furnish any evidence and continued merely asserting the same thing again and again, he was ordered to be encaged, was convicted for treason and executed. All cases of capital punishments were discussed by the Sultan with the *Muftis* maintained at the palace and a convict was sent to the executioner only if the Muftis failed to make out a plausible case in his defence. If they did, his release was ordered forthwith. Thus he took scrupulous care to prevent miscarriage of justice.

But once a crime had been proved, it was most severely punished. Flaying alive, cutting one's eyeballs out of the sockets, slitting off of ears and noses, amputation of hands and feet were some of the common punishments of the day. Confessions were often secured by torture. Heads or stuffed bodies of victims of royal wrath were a ccmmon sight. That speaks of the severity and barbarity of the penal code.

Though relentless in punishtments, the Sultan was essentially a generous soul and his department of charity spent crores of tankas every year. Nothing delighted the Sultan so much as alleviation of suffering by generous gifts. But as often happens, unscrupulous people exploited this weakness of the Sultan and secured rich grants of money by concocting stories of their alleged sufferings.

The Sultan also made provision for quick transmission of news by continuing the institution of *dak-chaukis*. Nor did he make any notable departure from the policies of Alauddin and Ghiyasuddin in respect of police, army, secret service or censorship of public morals.

ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY:

On the basis of the foregoing account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq it can easily be asserted that he is entitled to a place of honour among the rulers of medieval India. He seems to have possessed an attractive and impressive personality for more reasons than one. In respect of his erudite learning or versatile genius he stands unmatched among the Sultans of Delhi. He was a profound scholar of Persian, a penetrating critic, a literateur of repute and a master of rhetoric. He was not unfamiliar with Arabic language and literature while his study of Muslim theology and jurisprudence was deep and penetrating. He had a genuine taste for Philosophy and Metaphysics and he had delved deep into them as a seeker after truth with characteristic breadth of vision and freedom from dogma. At the same time, he was also interested in Physics. Chemistry and

Medicine while he had acquired great fame as a student of Logic, Mathematics and Astronomy. No wonder then that he was described as Aristotle of his age.

But he was no mere scholar. He combined devotion to learning with practical talents of a high order and even before he became the Sultan he had acquired great renown both as a general and as an administrator. His perseverence and zeal in the pursuit of Taghi even till the moment of his death testify to his great powers of endurance and a virile constitution. His fame for justice and generosity had travelled to distant foreign lands while his self-confidence and valour was beyond a shadow of doubt.

In his private life, he was an orthodox Muslim who scrupulously observed the principles of his faith. But in regard to these last he preferred to depend on his intellect rather than on traditional interpretation of the *ulema*. His religious ideas have been examined earlier and it has already been noted how these contributed to general discontent. His moral character was exemplary and probably he did not have more than one wife. In all these respects, he deserves praise and appreciation.

But he had defects too. His learning did not induce humility in him. Rather it made him unduly vain and he thought that the views of a person who could not successfully counter his arguments were faulty and contemptible. His learning had also made him too much of an idealist and he was constantly fathering endless schemes which in the realm of the ideal appeared attractive and beautiful but in the realms of hard reality got constricted and deformed and proved to be impracticable. He was so fond of novelty that he would launch a new scheme without pausing to consider its practical difficulties. He was so self-opinionated that once he had hit upon an idea he could brook no delay in putting it into practice and deemed it unnecessary to exchange views with men of experience. This sometimes cost him very dear. Obstinacy was his another drawback. Even when he became conscious of his mistake, he would sometimes persist in the same course rather than mend his plans betimes. He knew that severe punishments led to greater discontent, that contempt for the *ulema* was responsible for a venomous propaganda against him and that preferment of foreigners was upsetting the balance of power in the state but he could not effect a timely change in his policy in regard to any of these. While discussing with Ziyauddin Barani the causes of revolts and the means employed by previous rulers in suppressing them, he concluded by saying that he will make no change in his policy as long as the people did not stop rebellion. He was, however, willing to abdicate in favour of the triumvirate of Firuz, Malik Kabir and Khwaja Jahan after suppressing the rebels. This shows how stubborn he was. He was also deficient in perseverence and grit and when this got combined with lack of foresight, results were often disastrous. He sent no second army against Mabar. When the centurions occupied Daulatabad, he marched away to Gujerat without completely destroying their power and the result was that he could neither prevent the loss of the Deccan nor could he defeat Taghi. He sometimes reposed confidence in unworthy persons who did all in their power to encompass the ruin of his empire. It may unhesitatingly he accepted that contemporaries of Sultan Muhammad must have marvelled at his learning, versatility, high dignity, keen intelligence and powers of rhetoric and oration. But this too cannot be gainsaid that he had many defects of character which militated against his success as a ruler and contributed to his ultimate failure. A modern author calls him the wisest fool of crescentdom and likens him to king James I of England.

Notwithstanding all this, there is no rational basis for calling him a mixture of opposites, a man of unsteady mind, insane or mad. No contemporary historian refers to any of these charges. On the contrary, they all describe him as one of the greatest rulers of the world. The way he conducted the business of government during long 26 years also belies the charge. Ibn Batuta certainly calls him a mixture of opposites but a close scrutiny of the daily routine of any great man may easily bring to light incidents which if put together may appear to produce a similar impression. The Sultan did not simultaneously indulge in mutually contradictory things. While sitting in judgment he examined the whole issue in a most dispassionate manner but when it came to awarding punishments he became utterly heartless because that was the custom of the day. Similarly, though personally scrupulously religious, he did not overlook the crimes of the custodians of holy law. There is no real contradiction in this. Similarly no unprejudiced author can call the Sultan mad or insane because he enhanced taxes in the Doab, transferred the capital, introduced a token currency or planned foreign conquest.

There is no unanimity about the nature of his achievement either. Some have written down his entire reign as an unmitigated failure, though it is not a fair estimate of his work. It is true that he left to his successor only half the territory of what he had inherited and even that in a state of serious discontent. But all his acts were neither wholly unsuccessful nor totally harmful. In the military sphere, he reduced Nagarkot, Himachal and Dalmau to submission for the first time in the history of the Sultanate and they proved of great value even to his successor because they consolidated his northern frontier. He failed to suppress revolts only where he could not go personally. Rebellions of Gurshasp, Kishlu Khan and Ain-ul-mulk were of a dangerous character but he successfully suppressed each one of them. Pestilence and famine prevented him from going to Mabar and Bengal while the rising at Daulatabad had been virtually overcome. Had he not gone to Gujerat, it would have certainly died down. Similarly, Taghi was also on his last legs and he was bound to be defeated if the Sultan had not suddenly died. Thus his military failures were due not so much to his personal incompetence as to the wide extent of the empire, slow means of communication, lack of able generals and untimely outbreak of famine and pestilence. The empire surely broke up and a beginning was made in the Deccan. But he alone was not responsible for extension of direct rule over the Deccan. Some of the revolts of his reign were linked up with his administrative experiments but all such experiments did not prove a failure. His new regulations proved so successful in the earlier part of the reign that even Barani is constrained to admit that throughout the empire taxes were regularly paid at the appointed time and none dared disregard the royal orders. Expansion of the Central government also proved beneficial. His judicial reforms have been praised at all hands. Famine-relief, improvement of agriculture award of higher posts to the Hindus, extension of secularism and assistance to the poor and the orphaned can in no context be described as unsuccessful or unbeneficial. His currency policy was so comprehensive, enlightened and thorough that he has been called a prince of moneyers. It is thus obvious that his administration was in many respects worthy of praise and envy. But it is his misfortune that Barani has so sedulously exaggerated his failures and cast such bitter aspersions on some of his acts that even his ameliorative reforms have been lost sight of. Students of history should have a balanced attitude in coming to a judgment about his work. It is difficult to posit that he was a great or farsighted statesman. His errors, his failures and immaturity of some of his schemes militate against such an assumption. Nor can it be said that he was an ill-starred idealist who failed not because of his own faults but because of an adverse fate for whosoever in this world has achieved greatness has done so either by fighting against destiny and moulding it in his favour or by moulding himself according to circumstances. Muhammad bin Tughluq could do neither to earn his title to greatness. All the same what he did or proposed to do does entitle him to be regarded as the greatest ruler among the Tughluqs.

Further Readings

1. Ishwari Prasad—A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India.
2. Mehdi Husain—The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq.
3. R. P. Tripathi—Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 55-63, 274-282.
4. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. III.
5. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
6. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 127-172.

Section 4

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SULTANATE

XI. Sultan Firuz Tughluq and his Successors

XII. Political Disintegration: Rise of Provincial Kingdoms

Chapter XI

SULTAN FIRUZ TUGHLUQ AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Problem of succession :

Sultan Muhammad had died suddenly. In 1345, while talking about abdication of the throne, he had expressed a wish to hand over power to a committee of Firuz, Malik Kabir and Khwaja Jahan. It is not clear what he had really intended. Did he want to retire from active politics and to appoint a council of regency to rule in his name or whether he was abdicating the throne in favour of a son during whose minority the above-named council was to exercise powers of regency or whether he wanted to resign power for good in favour of the above triumvirate? Barani throws no light on this aspect of the question. But this is evident that he regarded Firuz as a suitable candidate for succession. Badauni says that the *ulema* were satisfied with the conduct and behaviour of Firuz. He had given adequate evidence of his administrative talents during the reign of his cousin. That is why in 1350-1351, the *ulema* formed a plot to depose Muhammad and to replace him by Firuz. The Sultan came to know of this and he summoned Firuz and the *ulema* concerned to meet him at his camp near Thatta. Before he could take any action against them, he suddenly died.

This immediately raised the problem of succession. Out of the three persons, named hy the Sultan in 1345. Kabir Khan was already dead, Khwaja Jahan was at Delhi while Malik Firuz was present at the camp. Just before his death, the Sultan is said to have nominated Firuz as his successor. But even if this allegation be true, it had not been reduced to writing otherwise the royal will could have been shown to Khwaja Jahan and Khudawandzada. They were told of this only orally. The situation called for immediate action. The army lay encamped in hostile territory, the Mongols were just at hand, the land was seething with discontent and disaffection was rife. Absence of a definite law of succession naturally led to disorders. Consequently it was urgently necessary to finalise the choice of a successor immediately. He should be able to control the army and to bear the burden of government. He should be not far from the camp so that he may be installed on the throne without any delay. By that time a strong convention had grown up that the choice should as far as possible be limited to the kith and kin of the previous ruler. The choice thus got narrowed down to two persons. One was Firuz, a first cousin of the last Sultan. He had been in the good books of Muhammad and possessed first hand administrative experience. The other was the son of Khudawandzada, a daughter of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. He too was an adult and was a nearer blood-relation than Firuz. But he had no experience of government nor had he given any evidence of his ability. The only thing known about him was that he was content to wallow in luxury and indolence. Of the two, Firuz was decidedly the better candidate.

The nobles and the *ulema* held a council to select the next Sultan. Shaikh Nasiruddin Awadhi, Chiragh-i-Delhi, proposed the name of Firuz. Ghiyasuddin a descendant of Caliph Almustansir Billah seconded it. Then ensued a discussion of the entire situation and finally the council approved the choice of Firuz who was forthwith proclaimed the Sultan. To strengthen their hands, they also asserted that it was in conformity with the dying behest of the late Sultan.

As soon as Khudawandzada heard of this, she lodged a protest and asserted the superiority of the claims of her son. The nobles and captains of the army attached no importance to his dynastic claims and only stated that he was unfit for the kingly office and that in the interest of the security and integrity of the state the only correct decision was the one made by the council. Thus the authority of Firuz had been definitely accepted at the camp. When the decision was first communicated to him, he expressed his disinclination to shoulder the responsibilities of state. Instead, he expressed a desire to devote himself exclusively to religion. But he condescended to change his attitude when the *ulema* appealed to him to accept the crown in the interest of God's creatures and to bow to the will of God who had marked him out to bear that heavy burden.

He now proceeded towards Delhi. He had not yet crossed the borders of Sindh when he met a party of *ulema* with a message from Khwaja Jahan stating that on receipt of the news of the late Sultan's death, he had placed his minor son on the throne and appealed to Firuz that he should help in restoring order in the realm by accepting the office of the regent.

This letter created a piquant situation. Firuz referred the letter to the *ulema* and the nobility. The nobles declared that Sultan Muhammad had no son and therefore no change was called for. The *ulema* said that the boy placed on the throne was ineligible for sovereignty because he was a minor. At the same time, conditions laid down by the jurists as essential for change in sovereignty did not exist. Hence Firuz should continue to bear the responsibility entrusted to him. Thus both the classes rejected the claims of the so-called son of Muhammad and Firuz continued his advance towards Delhi. None dared bar his progress. Even

Khwaja Jahan came in advance to welcome him and apologised for his indiscretion. The authority of Firuz was recognized even at the capital. The boy king was unceremoniously set aside to make room for him and was later killed or died a natural death.

Sir Wolseley Haig calls Firuz a usurper who overrode the claims of the legitimate heir of the late Sultan. He regards the boy-king as truly a son of Muhammad. But Dr. Ishwari Prasad points out a number of difficulties in doing so. He says that if the Sultan had a son contemporary historians must have referred to his birth, Khudawandzada could not have pleaded in favour of her own son, Firuz would not have enquired whether the Sultan had a son, the nobles could not have asserted that there was none and Firuz would have never set his claims aside. But he does not explain why Khwaja Jahan should have placed an obscure child on the throne and if his motive were to grab power for himself why should he have offered the regency to Firuz. Hence a suspicion is created that the Sultan did leave behind a son. Ferishta and Badauni support this view. Dr. R. P. Tripathi also regards the boy as a legitimate son of the late Sultan. If this be a fact, Firuz was surely a usurper in the light of current tradition but in point of law his election was not only valid but also in public interest. In this latter sense, the charge of usurpation falls to the ground.

PROBLEMS BEFORE FIRUZ :

Although Firuz was assured of the support of a majority of nobles, ulema, saints, soldiers and services yet his difficulties were by no means negligible. Khwaja Jahan's move rendered unanimous election impossible and if the boy survived he might be a source of trouble in future. He could apprehend mischief also from the side of sister's son of Muhammad. He could not undertake anything with confidence and success as long as his right to the throne had not become absolutely secure. This was his first and foremost problem. Secondly, almost the entire population in the state was discontented and was passing through great economic distress. If this state of things was not quickly mended, the rest of the empire might also disintegrate. It had been shaken to its foundations and a part of the edifice had already collapsed. This was his second headache. Add to this, an empty treasury and a chaotic finance. Extravagance of the last Sultan, miscarriage of a number of his measures, mounting disintegration of the realm and recurrence of famines and disturbances had almost exhausted the savings of previous monarchs. What little had remained had been squandered by Khwaja Jahan to win support for his candidate. Thus restoration of financial stability was another serious problem of the Sultan. Muhammad had antagonised the nobility. They must be converted into faithful servants of the state. Then there were the *ulema* who under Muhammad had become determined enemies of the Sultan but who must now be made ardent supporters of the crown. He had also to formulate some definite policy in regard to rebellious provinces. He could either admit their independence as an accomplished factor he must wage war to bring them under the suzerainty of Delhi once again.

AIMS OF FIRUZ :

The new Sultan formulated his aims in accordance with his own character and the circumstances of his assumption of power. He had been asked to accept the crown to save the state from ruination. He therefore regarded himself as a custodian of God's creatures and was willing to undertake everything conducive to public welfare. The Sultan was a man of a religious bent of mind and he would have preferred to spend the remainder of his life at Mecca or in the company of saints and *derwishes*. He therefore undertook only such measures of public welfare as were in conformity with the *Shara*. For elucidation and interpretation of the holy law he decided to depend on those who had made it a profession for life. This naturally led to a relapse into theocracy. Firuz's religious orthodoxy thus led to domination by the *ulema*.

He also decided to steer clear of the mistakes of his predecessor. He wanted to ensure peace to the departed soul by compounding with all aggrieved persons. He also realized that for the alleviation of popular suffering it was necessary to promote economic well-being and for success in this, establishment of internal peace and security was an essential condition.

Although it was the duty of a Muslim king to convert *der-ul-harb* into *dar-ul-Islam*, Firuz engaged in war only when it became inevitable and devoted himself mainly to the victories of peace. He could not make war a means of economic gain. He therefore adopted a policy which while promoting public welfare should also replenish the coffers of state.

EARLY MEASURES :

As a precautionary measure of consolidation of power, he ordered the execution of Khwaja Jahan and got rid of the alleged son of Muhammad. The citizens of Delhi who had received subsidies from Khwaja Jahan feared lest Firuz like Ghiyasuddin should force them to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. But Firuz did not do so. They appreciated this gesture of good-will. Against many people large sums were shown as outstanding. Firuz won their abiding gratitute by writing off all arrears and dues.

He then ordered preparation of a list of all those who had in any way suffered at the hands of the late Sultan. Their feelings were assuaged by grant of money and deeds of satisfaction were secured from them which were buried in the tomb of Sultan Muhammad. This was a very diplomatic move. Apparently, it was intended to help Muhammad on the Day of Judgment. But the real motive was to recount the evil deeds of the late Sultan which he not only condemned but also made amends for. He thus tried to impress on the people his generosity, justice, piety, and concern for their well-being. This naturally won him great popularity.

He strengthened the legal basis of his authority by securing an investiture from the caliph and assumed the title of *Naib-i-Amir-ul-mominin*. The name of the Caliph appeared on the coinage along with that of the Sultan and in *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Firuz describes recognition of his authority by the caliph as an example of his singular good fortune.

Firuz was wise in the choice of his principal assistants and gave them his implicit confidence. Khwaja Jahan was succeeded by his deputy Malik Maqbul who received the title Khan-i-Jahan. To keep the *wazir* satisfied, he fixed his salary at 13 lakh tankas a year. Khwaja Hisamuddin Junaid was put in charge of land revenue settlement while Malik Razi was assigned the military portfolio as *Naib Ariz*. The Public Works Department was entrusted to Malik Ghazi Shahna. The success of Firuz as a ruler was very largely due to the ability and devotion of these officers.

CHARACTER OF HIS REIGN:

Firuz ruled from 1351-1388. During this period of 37 years, he undermined the vitality of the Sultanate and paved the way for its ultimate collapse. But as long as he lived, there was no serious rebellion and the extent of his empire remained undiminished.

This was due to the fact that the government of Firuz was so peaceful and liberal that it satisfied all classes of persons. Crops were also good so that the people were happy and contented. But in certain directions, the administration became so weak and lax that it made the services corrupt, negligent and incompetent. The foreign policy of the Sultan also was not very respectable. This too affected the power and prestige of the Sultanate. His religious policy and long life also proved detrimental to the state. Thus during his long reign instead of strengthening the roots of the Sultanate, he made it so weak that its end became a certainty. Therein lies the significance of the reign of Firuz.

FOREIGN POLICY:

It would be convenient to start with a survey of his foreign relations and to relegate the appraisal of his domestic policy to a later section. Firuz had an inborn abhorrence for war. Hence he never gave much importance to military victories. He preferred to be at peace with his neighbours and thus save his subjects from needless bloodshed. He had a peculiar mentality. He considered it immoral and sinful to sacrifice thousands of Muslim lives merely to satisfy one's personal ambition. For this the culprit would be hauled up on the Day of Judgment. Hence though not subscribing to the principle of scrupulous non-violence, he tried to avoid war as far as possible. Even when he was forced into it, he followed tactics that should entail a minimum of casualties.

BENGAL CAMPAIGNS (1353-1354; 1359-1360):

During Firuz's reign, an appeal to arms was made only on six occasions. The first was an expedition to Bengal in 1353. Haji Ilyas the ruler of west Bengal had assumed the style of Shamsuddin and was behaving like an independent sovereign. Firuz thought that if he conquered Bengal, it would add to his prestige. He was given to understand that it would present no difficulties. He therefore launched an expedition in 1353 and issued a proclamation detailing the atrocities of Ilyas and exhorting the people to overthrow his government.

The fort of Iqdala was reached and closely besieged. When he failed to capture it, he feigned a retreat. But when the Bengal army was lured out in pursuit, he turned back to deliver a sharp attack but the enemy was again able to seek shelter in the fort of Iqdala. The Sultan renewed the siege. When Ilyas found further resistance untenable, a loud cry of wailing and weeping was found to rise from inside the fort. When Firuz asked what it was all about, he was told that the besieged thought that when the Sultan's army made a triumphant entry into the fort it would indulge not only in murder, arson and rapine but would also commit outrages on women. The latter were crying at the thought of their imminent dishonour. This set the Sultan a-thinking. He concluded that the responsibility for such outrages will be only his and he would have to answer before God for this sin. He therefore issued orders for an immediate return to the capital. Thus all the money and labour spent over the campaign was a total waste. This was the first example of how his misplaced piety blighted his military prospects.

A few years later, Zafar Khan the son-in-law of Fakhruddin laid claim to east Bengal and sought assistance from Sultan Firuz. Taking Zafar Khan with him, Firuz led a second invasion into Bengal in 1359. Its ruler at that time was Sikandar. He first offered opposition but later he agreed to surrender east Bengal. Zafar Khan was now ordered to go there as a governor. But Zafar Khan had become so enamoured of the life of ease and luxury at Delhi that he declined to go to east Bengal. A *fal* was now taken from the *Quran* to determine as to who would be an auspicious governor there. This went in favour of Zafar Khan who had declined the offer. Consequently no substitute was considered and the Sultan came away once again without making any gain whatsoever. This failure was also due to his superspitious regard for religion.

JAJNAGAR AND BIRBHUM (1360):

After this campaign, the Sultan used his troops against two Hindu rajas and secured some success too. This took place in 1360. Reaching Jaunpur, he decided to march into Orissa, the Jajnagar of Muslim historians. Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that at that time it was a very prosperous region. There prices were so low that two *jitals* would fetch a horse. Everybody there, according to him, lived in large houses with kitchen gardens attached to each one of them. When the local Raja heard of the approach of the Sultan, he fled to an island. The city was sacked and the idol of Jagannath was thrown into the sea. An envoy waited on the Sultan on behalf of the Raja who promised to acknowledge his supremacy and to pay annual tribute. It was fixed in elephants and the Sultan retired to his territory.

The Raja of Birbhum was also defeated and he too agreed to send a number of elephants as annual tribute.

NAGARKOT (1360):

The Sultan now returned to his capital. He was informed that the Raja of Nagarkot had asserted his independence. The Sultan promptly marched against him and defeated him after a hard contest. The Raja shut himself up in the citadel and prepared to stand a siege. The Sultan entered the city of Nagarkot desecrated the temple of Jwalamukhi and broke the idol. The local people were gathered at a meeting where Firuz preached a sermon against idol-worship and tried to suggest that he had destroyed the idol not because he wanted to wound their feelings but to save them from the sin of idolatry. Thus he added insult to injury. According to Ferishta, pieces of the idol along with cowflesh were tied round the necks of Brahmin priests of the temple and they were paraded through the streets of the city. It was probably done to wean them away from the sin of idolatry so that they might not mislead anybody in future.

At the same time, fighting also continued and after a siege of six months, the Raja submitted and was pardoned. The Sultan then returned to capital.

These three campaigns brought to the Sultan both wealth and glory. But a closer examination reveals that here too his gains were not proportionate to his exertions. Nowhere could he establish his own direct rule. He failed to capture the fort of Nagarkot and to compel the Raja of Jajnagar to wait upon him in person. He could not lay hands on the accumulated treasures of any of these ruling dynasties and at two places his fanaticism offended the Hindus but brought no gain either to Islam or to the Sultanate. Thus here too, he must be regarded to have failed as a conqueror.

INVASION OF SINDH (1362-63):

Firuz's last campaign was directed against Thatta. It was intended to avenge the wrongs done to the last Sultan. But it is remarkable that he was reminded of this duty twelve years after his accession to the throne. The contemporary ruler was Jam Babiniya. He had a numerous army consisting of 20,000 cavalry and 4,00,000 infantry. Hence Firuz led against him 90,000 cavalry, 480 elephants and a large infantry. Firuz wanted to wage war on lines of peace and wanted to avoid bloodshed as far as possible. That is why when the enemy shut itself inside a fort he would permit neither storming the fort nor scaling or breaching the walls. His favourite plan was to enforce such a stranglehold on the fort that no supplies should reach it from outside so that it should be starved into surrender. Hence siege operations dragged on for long periods. Firuz applied the same tactics at Thatta also. Just then there was an outbreak of famine and pestilence which killed a quarter of the Sultan's army. This frightened the Sultan and he fled towards Gujerat to rest his soldiers awhile and then return to the fray. But he was such an utter simpleton that he was easily led astray and suffered heavy casualties due to lack of food and drink. For days nothing was heard of him. But Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul acted with great promptitude. He sent out expert spies to find out his whereabouts and despatched an army to replenish his forces. The governor of Gujerat also rendered great help. Hence the army was fitted out again and returned to Sindh. After continuing resistance a little longer, Jam Babiniya made his surrender. He was deposed and the province was assigned to another member of the ruling family. Jam-Babiniya was carried to Delhi where he was pardoned and permitted to return to Thatta.

Thus this campaign also brought no permanent gain to the Sultanate. The ruler of Sindh acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan for sometime but as soon as an opportunity offered itself he threw off the yoke of the Sultan and began to behave as an independent ruler once again. Never before had Firuz shown such utter incompetence and this probably made him shy of war for the rest of his reign.

FIRUZ AND THE BAHMANIDS (1365–1366):

In 1365-66 he got an excellent opportunity for self-aggrandisement but he did not avail of it. The Bahmani kingdom at that time was torn by internal dissensions. One of the contestants for power was Bahram Khan who offered to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultan if he helped him in securing power. In order to excite compassion of the Sultan, he also sent an exaggerated account of the evil deeds of Muhammad Shah Bahmani. But Firuz refused to embroil himself and dismissed the agents of Bahram with the remark that they were having a just retribution for their sins against Sultan Muhammad and he would be the last person to help them out of it. To his courtiers he offered a different explanation. As the Bahmani kings had received investiture from the caliph, it would be contrary to law to attack them.

RESULTS OF HIS WEAK FOREIGN POLICY:

The foregoing account of the foreign policy of the Sultan reveals (i) that he neither desired nor deserved any extension of territory (ii) that his capacity for military leadership was of a poor quality, (iii) that his policy was timid and weak, (iv) that the morale of his soldiers must have gone down because they were compelled to fight under conditions most advantageous to the enemy, (v) that even under these adverse circumstances, they could not reap the full fruits of a victory because the Sultan was sometimes moved by the cries of women and at others by the words of the Quran, and (vi) that the dignity of the Sultan and the Sultanate must have suffered a heavy blow, the army would have lost all enthusiasm for war and the security of the realm must have been jeopardised. The invasion of Timur revealed these weaknesses all the more prominently.

DOMESTIC POLICY:

Firuz was born of a Hindu mother. Even then the nobles and the *ulema* had acclaimed him as their sovereign almost with one voice. But the Sultan probably never forgot his Hindu origin. That is why he made a loud demonstration of his zeal for Islam and contempt for Hinduism. Before his accession, every Sultan had some independence of judgment while from the days of Ghiyasuddin Balban the influence of the *ulema* on state policy had been steadily declining. Firuz in his anxiety to prove his bonafides as an orthodox Musalman, suddenly made a somersault and agreed to be noseled by the *ulema.* It excites one's pity to notice how even in petty details he submitted to their dictation. The result was that government was vitiated by a narrow sectarian prejudice.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION:

Firuz was constantly surrounded by theologians who incited him to persecute the Hindus and non-Sunni Muslims. It was on their advice that he imposed the *Jizya* also on the Brahmins. The Sultan did not relent even when the Brahmins of Delhi went on a fast unto death as a protest against this illegal innovation. Ultimately, other Hindus intervened and a compromise was made. The Brahmins were taxed at a special rate of 50 Kanis each in place of the usual 10 tankas per head and the amount due to the state was to be spread over other Hindus who offered to pay the tax on behalf of the Brahmins. Even this relaxation was made only with the sanction of the *ulema.* Firuz had imposed this tax on the Brahmins on the plea that as they were the religious leaders of the Hindus they could not be spared under any circumstances. But in doing so he landed himself into a grave injustice. Brahmins had always been exempt from this tax and according to the principles of Islam itself whatever had been permitted by previous rulers and had acquired the force of tradition could not be disturbed.

A far greater injustice was committed when a Brahmin of Delhi was burnt alive. His only crime was that certain Muslim women had been so impressed by his life and ideas that they had embraced Hinduism. He was asked to choose between Islam and death and on his refusal to change his faith he along with his idols was burnt alive. Such treatment was utterly unprecedented and naturally it wounded the religious sentiments of the Hindus.

The Sultan desecrated the shrines of Jagannath and Jwalamukhi, imposed restrictions on Hindu fairs, destroyed all new temples and forbade repair of old ones. Thus he subjected the Hiudus to considerable persecution. It must, however, be said to his credit that he did not interfere with any old temple which did not need repairs.

Religious frenzy of the Sultan was directed not merely against shrines or individual saints but even against masses. The Raja of Katehar was charged with the murder of three Sayyads. The Sultan retaliated by indiscriminate slaughter of any of his subjects that chanced to fall into the hands of his officers for the next five years.

He did not single out the Hindus alone for venting his religious fury. Non-Sunni Muslims also suffered many hardships. There was a sect of the Shias which was reported to practise many vulgar and obscene rites. Their leaders were arrested and were warned that they must mend their ways. Similarly, he interfered with the religious beliefs and practices of Mahdawis, Sufis and certain Mulahidas. Ruknuddin a Mahdawi leader was executed for his views. Firuz did all this to curry favour with the *ulema* and to improve his prospects in the world hereafter but he failed to appreciate the injury he was doing to the state.

FISCAL POLICY:

Theocratic bias pervaded every branch of state activity and affected also the fiscal policy of the Sultan. He abolished all cesses and taxes other than the prescribed four viz., *Jizya*, *Zakat*, *Kharaj* and *Khums*. They have been detailed in *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* and included among others, *Dalalat-i-bazarha*, *Gulfaroshi*, *Chungi-i-ghalla*, *Nilkari*, *Mahifaroshi*, *Sabunkari*, *Reshmanfaroshi*, *Roghankari*, *Ghari* and

Charai. Only the last two brought substantial revenues but the Sultan in his zeal for law disregarded the financial aspect altogether. For a similar reason he altered the rate of *Khums*. Indian rulers had usually demanded 4/5 of the booty as *Khums* and had left only 1/5 to the soldiers. But Firuz reverted to the legal Islamic practice of leaving 4/5 to the soldiers and retaining 1/5 for the sovereign.

He next turned towards settlement of land revenue or *Kharaj*. Khwaja Hisamuddin was asked to prepare an authentic valuation. He toured the whole empire and as a result of six years of strenuous labour, the work was completed and the revenue of the state was fixed at 6 crores 85 lakh tankas. Details of this were preserved in the revenue ministry and collections from local officers were made to conform to this schedule.

For extension and promotion of agriculture in East Punjab, the Sultan cut two large canals calling them *Rajba* and *Ulughkhani*. Yahya says that there were four of them. These canals irrigated a tract of land over 160 miles in length. On either side of these canals new settlements of farmers sprang up. This improved the yield of the land and correspondingly the revenues of the state. Besides with the approval of the *ulema* the Sultan realized 10% as irrigation cess from fields using canal water. Farmers were also encouraged to grow better crops to the mutual advantage of the state and the peasant.

All this improved the revenues of the state but Firuz thought of other devices as well. He planted 12,000 gardens whose produce was regularly marketed and sale proceeds credited to state treasury. This brought him 1,80,000 tankas a years. He maintained 36 state factories which produced a great variety of goods. Most of it was needed by the government and the royal household. But all excess produce was sold. This too meant some gain to the treasury. Another small amount was earned by issue of small coins in bulk.

The Sultan at times farmed out revenues of provinces and *iqtas* to the highest bidders. This also led to some increase in the revenues but it might have adversely affected the people as is shown by the example of Gujerat. Normal revenue yield of Gujerat was 2 crores of tankas. Shamsi Damghani offered to pay over and above this 40 lakh tankas, 100 elephants, 200 Arab horses and 400 Hindu or Abyssinian slaves. Hence the province was entrusted to him. But when he raised the taxes to meet the heavier commitment, there was opposition and he was assassinated.

JUSTICE:

Administration of justice was also remodelled on the lines suggested by the *ulema*. All judicial and ecclesiastical appointments were once more made their exclusive monopoly. Normally no Muslim was awarded the capital punishment. At the same time, he abolished mutilation of body on the plea that nobody had the right to disfigure or maim god's creatures. Punishments thus lost their deterrent effect but the Sultan certainly became more popular than before.

FIRUZ AND THE ULEMA:

The result of such policy was that the *ulema* who had been hostile critics of royal despotism under Muhammad now became willing supporters of Firuz's authority. The Sultan revived the system of *jagir* and he made his grants to the *ulema* more liberal than ever. This reconciled them to his authority which by their support gained in stability and strength. But it also led to theocratisation and religious persecution which in the long run proved disastrous to the state.

FIRUZ AND THE NOBILITY:

Just as Firuz had removed all the grievances of the *ulema* and had made them thoroughly contented, similarly he tried to give satisfaction to the nobility as well. Alauddin and Muhammad bin Tughluq had tried to abolish *jagirs*. They also resorted to transfers as a precaution against any nobleman acquiring undue power by remaining in the same area. They had their accounts strictly audited and maintained secret agents to keep an eye over their movements. Sometimes they resorted to very harsh measures in realizing government dues from them. Firuz altered or abolished all this. He increased their salaries and allowances and granted them large *jagirs*. Shams-i-siraj Afif says that the *Wazir* got 13 lakh tankas a year while other high officials got as much as 8 lakhs, 6 lakhs, or 4 lakhs. They were never disturbed in their *jagirs* as long as they paid the royal dues regularly. They were not expected to offer any presents to the Sultan. If any nobleman ever did so, the present was valued and its cost credited to his account and adjusted against payments due from him. He had put an end to war. Hence the nobles lived in happiness and peace. Gold, silver and precious jewels began to accumulate in their houses and they grew extremely rich so that they assumed airs of magnificence and glory. This enhanced the prestige of the nobles. What was more, he abolished secret service and forbade use of torture against those who had fallen into arrears. The nobles therefore had no fear of torture or loss of honour, and to perpetuate this happy state of affairs, they offered willing submission to the Sultan. Successful rebellion could bring them no extra benefit. That is why none of them defied the authority of the Sultan as long as Firuz was alive. But this inordinate strength of the nobility proved ruinous in the long run and as soon as Firuz died, dismemberment of the Sultanate promptly set in.

FIRUZ'S ARMY:

A similar result followed from the mishandling of the army. In the earlier part of the reign Malik Razi did a good deal to keep the army efficient and orderly. Horses were strictly examined and soldiers were obliged to keep good horses. He also scruitinised the arms, equipment and conduct of the soldiers so that the discipline of the army remained intact. But with lapse of time, the rot set in here too because of the policy of the Sultan. The object of Firuz was to keep all important elements in the state satisfied and thus enjoy a peaceful reign. He, therefore, revived the system of *jagirs* for the soldiers and their officers. This greatly delighted the soldiers because they were now assured of regular payment of their salary. But the evils resultant from payment of the army by land were overlooked by Firuz. All that had been done to make the army loyal and mobile from the days of Balban to those of Muhammad bin Tughluq was set at nought by this single act of the Sultan. Besides, after 1363 Firuz engaged in no further war. Nor did he devise any alternative method to keep the soldiers efficient and active. They therefore became indolent and easeloving. When soldiers got too old they were retired and younger men were recruited in their place. But in the days of Firuz, the soldiers thus retired led a deputation to wait upon the Sultan. They protested that it was highly unjust to deprive them of their living because they were old and helpless when they had spent all their life in the service of the state. Firuz found their plea unassailable, hence he passed orders that nobody should be asked to retire on grounds of old age. Only he should be asked to send a suitable substitute for active service when demanded. This brought in the principle of heredity by the back-door. Fitness of a new entrant was now no longer to be judged by royal officers but by the aged invalids. It had another vicious implication. He who drew the salary would stay at home and he who rode forth to battle or active duty got nothing. He had to be content with the prospect of drawing a salary when the old man condescended to die. This naturally broke the back of military efficiency. The right course would have been to keep the organisation of the army sound and to grant a maintenance allowance to the retiring old man. But Firuz wanted to effect an economy rather than incur fresh expenditure. The evil effects of this pernicious arrangement also became visible after the death of Firuz.

The soldiers that were young and fit also began to degenerate. It was entirely due to the Sultan. He punished even desertion from battlefield with censure. Thus the soldiers lost all fear of royal power and their morale and discipline began to be undermined. What was worse, the Sultan encouraged corruption in the army. A soldier was disconsolate because he was not getting his salary. The Sultan while passing that way casually enquired of him the cause of his depression and when the soldier communicated his difficulty to him, he advised him to square up things by offering some money to the clerk concerned. But the soldier had no money and the kindly Sultan gave him a gold piece to bribe his own clerk. The soldier did as advised and was relieved of his anxiety by the obliging clerk. One can easily imagine the standard of public morality of state employees when the ruling sovereign not only commended corruption but also supplied the necessary bribe money. The result of all this was that during the long reign of the Sultan the army became utterly incompetent, indolent and disorderly. This too contributed to the downfall of the Sultanate.

CORRUPTION AND DISORDER:

Firuz vitiated the administrative machinery as well. For the satisfaction of the services, he increased their emoluments, closed down the secrect intelligence department and abolished humiliating methods of realizing the arrears. This encouraged embezzlement, misappropriation and insubordination. Firuz had left everything to his ministers and did not supervise their work adequately. This also led to a certain amount of laxity. He encouraged corruption by conniving at it. It was complained against Kajarshah (an officer of the mint) that in the *Shashkani* he had reduced the quantity of silver by one grain and was thus defrauding both the people and the state. On this a few coins were assayed in the royal presence. Both Firuz and Khan-i-Jahan came to know that the complaint was correct and that the goldsmiths had smuggled the necessary quantity of silver to make up the deficiency. But in order to maintain the credit of the state unimpaired he shielded Kajarshah, pronounced him to be not guilty, took him round the city in all glory and punished the complainants for defamation. Later on, Kajarshah was retired no doubt but not on charge of corruption. Thus in shielding government servants he punished the innocent, connived at corruption and tried to bamboozle the people. This inevitally led to slackening of standards.

AMELIORATIVE REFORMS:

Besides the classes, the Sultan tried to satisfy the masses as well. Reduction of taxes, curbing the barbarity of the penal code and improving the emoluments of state employees have already been referred to. All this directly or indirectly affected the people and they became much better off. He provided medical relief by founding hospitals. The one located at Delhi provided also free meals to the patients. The Sultan encouraged education by founding and endowing many *maktabs* and *madrasas*. There was also provision for charitable grants to the poor and orphaned, the scholar and the saint.

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVES:

But the most notable work of the Sultan in this direction was to offer means of subsistence to middle class unemployed Muslims. An enumeration of all such persons was ordered and they were recruited as personal slaves of the Sultan. Their number swelled up to 1,80,000. When the Sultan felt that he would not be able to enrol any more, he asked the nobles to follow suit and those who evinced particular interest in this rose high in Sultan's favour. A new department was established to deal with them and they were divided into groups according to their respective merits and aptitudes. Most of them were employed in the royal factories, state gardens and the department of public works. Some of them were employed in the court and the royal household. This enabled lakhs of people to earn an honourable living. But in course of time this too proved harmful because being personal slaves of the crown they got very vain and being large in numbers began to get rowdy and riotous.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT:

The public works department became a very busy department so that unemployment declined and the people secured permanent benefits. Officers of the department prepared schemes of work to be undertaken and offered an estimate of cost. The department of the *Wazir* scrutinised and approved it. Then construction work was undertaken. Thus beside canals and roads, construction of a large number of bridges, mosques and *madrasas* was undertaken, cities and gardens were laid out and two Asokan pillars were brought to Delhi and installed there. He also undertook repair of the Qutb Minar. Thus by Sultan's efforts a lot of good was done to the people.

CHOICE OF THE SUCCESSOR:

To ensure peace in future, Firuz thought it desirable to nominate his successor. Hence in about 1359 he nominated his eldest son Fateh Khan as heir to the throne and when the latter died in 1375 the second son Zafar Khan was chosen. But he too predeceased the Sultan. Now instead of choosing the third son Muhammad Khan, the Sultan expressed his preference for Tughluqshah the son of Fateh Khan. This greatly offended Muhammad. It was also suspected that this move was probably initiated by Khan-i-Jahan who wanted to perpetuate his power by keeping out Muhammad Khan. The friends and followers of Muhammad Khan continued to fan the fire of his discontent with the result that the court was sharply divided into two factions one supporting Prince Muhammad and the other the *Wazir*. The latter charged the Prince of designs to seize power by force. But the Prince met the Sultan and proved his innocence. At the same time, he charged the *Wazir* with conspiracy to retain power by hook or crook. The Prince now decided to get rid of the *Wazir* while still in the capital for he was convinced that the Sultan's hesitation in nominating him as the heir was entirely due to the *Wazir* poisoning his ears against him. One day he raided the residence of the *Wazir*, attacked and wounded him and seized his property. Later, he succeeded even in murdering him. Now he started behaving like a *de facto* ruler. All power passed into his hands. His name was introduced also in the *khutba* and on the *sikka* and he assumed the kingly suffix of 'Shah'. But he did not depose his aged father and nominal sovereignty remained vested in Firuz even now.

Muhammad acted with great tact and circumspection. Inspite of this, the *ulema* got offended with him. The friends of the last *wazir* threw their weight in favour of Tughluqshah and a stage was set for a civil war. The Sultan was a helpless spectator of all this for he lacked the energy to take a decision and enforce it. Hence open hostilities broke out. Now Firuz declared in favour of Tughluqshah which tilted the balance in his favour, raised the morale of his troops and finally made him victorious when the followers of Muhammad began to divide and to desert obliging him to leave the capital in disgraceful defeat. A little later Firuz breathed his last.

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY:

Firuz was remarkable for his humility, generosity and piety. Harshness or severity was alien to his nature. He had resort to it only when he was convinced of its necessity for the defence and promotion of his faith. That is why he could overlook the crimes of traitors, deserters, convicts and corrupt officers but had no qualms of conscience in murdering Hindus or Mahadawis. Sultan Firuz was wholly dominated by the *ulema* and respected their views as much in his private life as in public policy. He was regarded as an orthodox Muslim but contrary to the principles of Islam he was a winebibber and had great reverence for the tombs of Muslim saints. He was a through gentleman and treated everybody else as such till he had reasons to think otherwise. That is why when he had once reposed his confidence in his ministers, he gave them an abosolutely free hand. To the best of his capacity, he tried to promote public welfare and in regard to every class in the community followed a policy calculated to satisfy them and evoke a sense of gratitude for the Sultan. He tried to satisfy all sections of the population—the *ulema*, the nobles, merchants and traders, civil and military personnel and the masses in general. Luckily for the Sultan no famine disfigured his reign and there was peace and plenty throughout the realm. No Muslim ruler ever did so much good to the Muslims as Firuz. That is why contemporary Muslim chroniclers have called him an ideal Muslim monarch. But in the absence of military capacity and farsighted statesmanship, no impartial historian can offer such high tribute to him. The speed with which he restored a state of calm after a period of violent storms is undoubtedly commendable. Many of his acts, such as construction of canals, roads, bridges and hospitals, foundation of schools and colleges, provision for unemployment relief, lightening the burden of the tax-payer, promotion of agriculture and award of aids and doles to the poor and the destitute, were positively useful and ameliorative. But this alone cannot make him a great or successful ruler. His policy led to disorder and corruption in the state and made disintegration of the Sultanate inevitable. Subordination of his judgment to the dictates of the *ulema*, promotion of religious persecution, pampering the nobility even to the extent of overlooking defiance of royal authority, rendering the army indolent and weak, vitiating the administrative edifice by lack of supervision and connivance at corruption and failure to solve the problem of succession satisfactorily, in their cumulitive effect proved disastrous to the integrity of the Sultanate. Firuz may therefore be regarded as a mediocrity. During his own life-time, he kept the land peaceful and enhanced the revenues of the state by shrewd economy and clever state-trading which postponed the evil day for the time-being.

TUGHLUQSHAH II (1388-1389):

After the death of Firuz, there was none among his successors who could wield the sceptre effectively. Consequently forces of disintegration became stronger day by day. His immediate successor was his grandson Tughluqshah II. But his uncle Prince Muhammad disputed his authority. He declared himself as the rightful ruler of Delhi and assumed the style of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. He collected his followers and marched upon Delhi but he failed to capture it because of the opposition of Malik Firuz

Ali, Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Nahir and was obliged to retire into the Kangra basin.

The position of Tughluqshah now began to stabilise. But he created fresh enemies by his own conduct. His debaucheries crossed all limits and thoroughly degraded him in popular estimation. On mere suspicion, he threw possible rivals into prison. This frightened Abu Bakr the son of Firuz's second son Zafar Khan so much that he started conspiring against the Sultan in sheer self-defence.

ABU BAKR (1389-1390) :

He raised the standard of revolt with the support of palace guards and *Naib Wazir* Ruknuddin. The Sultan accompanied by the *Wazir* fled for safety but he was overtaken and beheaded. Abu Bakr thus became the master of Delhi. But as long as Muhammad Shah was alive, he could not feel secure. He was preparing to meet this danger, when he was informed of a conspiracy by Ruknuddin to depose him and to step into his shoes. The Sultan forestalled him by ordering his execution. This weakened the party of Abu Bakr and the centurions of Samana broke out in revolt, murdered the local governor and invited Muhammad Shah to assume their leadership. Taking advantage of this situation, Muhammad led a second attack against Delhi, only to be defeated once again by Bahadur Nahir.

Muhammad Shah now fixed his standard at Jalesar. All disaffected nobles began to flock rouud his banner. They included Nasir-ul-mulk Khizr Khan and Malik Sarwar, whom Muhammad Shah gave the title of Khwaja Jahan and appointed his *Wazir*. A third abortive attempt was made on the capital and the number of his adherents continued to mount up. In the north-western region, the governors of Multan, Samana, Lahore, Hisar and Hansi became his whole-hearted supporters.

NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD SHAH (1390-1394) :

Now Abu Bakr took the offensive and attacked Jalesar. But Muhammad Shah slipped away to Delhi and occupied it only to lose it again when Abu Bakr returned from Jalesar to claim it back. Abu Bakr was now handicapped by another serious desertion. Islam Khan, the police chief of Delhi went over to the side of Muhammad Shah and invited him to the capital. When Abu Bakr learnt of this, he was greatly upset and fled to Mewat. Muhammad Shah now had no difficulty in seating himself securely on the throne of Delhi. He appointed Islam Khan as his *Wazir* and disbanded the palace guards because they had been a hotbed of conspiracy. Next he sent an army against Abu Bakr, defeated him and imprisoned him at Meerut where he died sometime later. This removed all rivals to his power and his authority became unchallenged.

He now turned to consolidation and extension of his authority. In Gujerat, the authority of the Sultan had been declining since the murder of Damghani by Abu Raja and partisans of the *Wazir*. He was succeeded by Farhat-ul-mulk. Muhammad while still a prince had appointed Sikandar to replace Farhat-ul-mulk but the latter instead of making over charge to the new governor had murdered him and had retained power in his own hands. Now after his accession to the throne, Muhammad Shah sent Zafar Khan to Gujerat who occupied the province and ruled it on behalf of the Sultan. Next he suppressed the revolts of the Hindus of Etawah and Bhansor. An army was sent against Bahadur Nahir who was defeated but not crushed.

Khwaja Jahan had not taken kindly to the appointment of Islam Khan and he had been constantly conspiring against him. Finally he complained to the Sultan that Islam Khan was hatching a plot against him. The nephew of Islam Khan gave evidence against his own uncle. This convinced the Sultan of Islam Khan's guilt and he had him murdered. Khwaja Jahan now gained full ascendancy. War against Bahadur Nahir and the Hindus of Doab continued and the Sultan found the strain too much and gave up the ghost in 1394.

MAHMUD SHAH (1394-1412) :

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun who assumed the style of Alauddin Sikandar Shah. But he soon died and Khwaja Jahan installed on the throne Mahmud, younger brother of the late Sultan. Alauddin Sikandar had summoned provincial governors to lead an all-out offensive against Khokhar rebels of the Punjab. These nobles regarded the new boy-king so contemptible that none of them was willing to wait for his coronation and they needed a lot of persuasion to change their mind. Mahmud Shah was at last formally crowned in their presence.

During the reign of Mahmud provinces of the empire began to be converted into independent kingdoms. Khwaja Jahan was the first to initiate the move. He secured for himself the title of Malik-us-sharq and left the capital on the excuse of going out to suppress Hindu revolts. But he never returned to his sovereign. He consolidated his power in the East and with Jaunpur as the seat of his government founded an independent kingdom called the Sharqi Sultanate. The eastern province was thus lost to the Sultanate of Delhi. Zafar Khan the ruler of Gujerat also became virtually independent. Sarang Khan, the governor of Dipalpur occupied the whole of the north-western region except Samana and repudiated the authority of Delhi.

This was not all. There were factious conspiracies in the capital itself. The principal actors here were Mallu Khan, Muqarrab Khan and Saadat Khan. Saadat Khan was the *Wazir* while Muqarrab Khan was the Regent. They both contended for supremacy and were extremely jealous of each other. Mallu Khan was a brother of Sarang Khan and was highly ambitious, selfish and unscrupulous. When the Sultan was at Gwalior, Mallu tried to secure control over him by murdering the *Wazir*. But he failed in the attempt and it was with great difficulty that he was able to escape to Delhi. All his fellow-conspirators were, however, killed.

When the Sultan returned, Muqarrab shut the gates against him. All the efforts of the Sultan and the *Wazir* to force an entry proved unavailing. The Sultan now decided to desert Saadat and promising Muqarrab to act according to his advice secured admission into the capital. Saadat now called from Mewat Nusrat Khan, the younger brother of Tughluqshah II and declared him king. He chose Firuzabad for encampment of his troops. But Saadat soon fell out with his allies and was obliged to fall back upon the support of Muqarrab Khan. Muqarrab promised to help him but as soon as he had him in his grip he got him murdered.

Mallu Khan now championed the cause of Nusrat Shah and sought to capture Delhi on his behalf. But when he failed in the attempt, he left Nusrat Shah in the lurch and submitted to Muqarrab Khan. Once inside the capital, he started manoeuvring for power again and after assassinating Muqarrab Khan secured both regency and *Wazarat* for himself. Mallu now decided to rule in the name of Mahmud and with a view to destroy the power of Nusrat Shah attacked him. The prime minister of Nusrat Shah at the moment was Tatar Khan, the son of Zafar Khan. On his defeat, Tatar Khan fled to his father while Nusrat Shah went underground in the Doab.

TIMUR'S INVASION (1398-1399):

Just at this time Amir Timur, the ruler of Samarqand invaded India. Timur was a Barlas Turk and by his personal valour had secured leadership of Chaghtai Turks. He desired to invade this country. Although the predisposing causes of the invasion were political anarchy of India and Timur's lust for power, he represented it to his courtiers as a religious obligation.

In 1397, he directed his grandson Pir Muhammad to invade India. He crossed the Indus and proceeded to lay siege to Multan, held by Sarang Khan. When Pir Muhammad demanded of Sarang Khan acknowledgment of Timur's suzerainty, he gave a bold rebuff, saying that empires are not got for the asking but by force of arms. Pir Muhammad wrote to Timur about Sarang Khan's power and attitude. Timur therefore decided to lead the invasion of India himself.

He assembled his nobles and courtiers and spoke to them about his desire to earn the title of '*Ghazi*' by invading the land of infidels. On taking a *fal* from the Quran, he told them, he had found his resolve supported. He therefore asked them to decide whether he should invade India or China.

On this it was pointed out that the conquest of India could be possible only if its four defences could be broken. The first of these was the presence of five large rivers which rising from the mountains of Kashmir, flowed into the Arabian Sea and which could not be crossed without boats and bridges. Secondly there were thick woods and forests and trees which interweaving stem with stem rendered penetration of the country difficult. Thirdly, there were excellent forts which lay hidden in these woods and were inhabited by soldiers and landlords, princes and rajas who fought like wild beasts. Lastly there was a huge animal who lifted with his trunk a horse with his rider and whirling him in the air dashed him to death.

Another group opposed the above point of view and said that Sultan Mahmud with only 30,000 horses had overrun India and had captured a vast booty. There was no reason why the Amir with an army of one lakh should not be able to do the same. The invasion would enrich the soldiers, fill the treasury and render other conquests easy.

Prince Shah Rukh said that India had once formed a part of the Persian Empire and the Amir had annexed Persia. He should therefore win glory and renown by annexing India as well. Prince Muhammad Sultan insisted that as India was a land of the infidels it was their religious duty to invade it. Besides it had great riches in gold and silver, diamonds and rubies and its land was very fertile. Hence it was to be commended on financial grounds as well. The *Wazirs* supported this and said that the annual revenue of India was 6 *arabs* (i. e. 6 billions).

But some of the nobles opposed the move. They said : "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish."

This caused a certain amount of disheartenment. Then Timur intervened with the following words:

"My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels that according to the law of Muhammad we may convert to the true faith the people of that country and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism, and that we may become *ghazis* and *mujahids* before God."

The *ulema* pronounced it to be in conformity with the holy law and enjoined it as a solemn duty of every Musalman. This silenced all opposition and preparations started in right earnest.

This shows that Timur wanted to give to his scheme of territorial aggrandisement the sanction of religion. But when he encountered opposition from the nobles, he gave up the idea of extension of territory and adopted the slogan of suppression of infidelity and the bait of plunder.

Timur left Samarqand in April 1398 and he was informed on the way that Pir Muhammad had captured Multan and Uchh in May 1398. Building forts on the way and providing for uninterrupted communication with his capital, he reached the Indus in September. Crossing the Indus, he defeated the local ruler Shihabuddin Mubarak Shah and crossed the Jhelum.

His next halt was at Talamba. The citizens purchased their security by a heavy ransom. But while money was being raised, there was an altercation on some issue and Timur made it the excuse for ordering a general massacre. He next secured the northerly route by putting down the Khokhars. On the arrival of Pir Muhammad he was put in charge of the right flank.

Now Timur advanced in speed. There was no provision for satisfactory defence of the frontier. The Sultan was a mere puppet in the hands of Mallu Khan. The army was decrepit and weak. Hence Timur encountered no serious difficulty on the way. He reached the environs of Delhi in December despoiling and devastating everything lying on his route and specially towns like Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Sirsa, Fatehabad, Samana, Kaithal and Panipat. The usual routine of Timur was to start by attacking a town. When the people made their submission he demanded a heavy ransom as the price of their security. This being agreed to his soldiers entered the town and picked up a quarrel on one excuse or the other. This was made the pretext for indiscriminate plunder and devastation. Sometimes there was a trumped up charge of concealing victims of Timur's wrath, at others of insulting the soldiers or breaking the terms of surrender. But the result was always the same. A number of people of either sex were also carried away as slaves and divided among the soldiers.

On reaching Delhi, when he captured Loni, he ordered a massacre of the Hindus for no apparent reason. But on the way he had been free from sectarian prejudice and had subjected both Hindus and Muslims to common fate of loss of property, loss of honour and loss of life.

In his first encounter with the Delhi army, Timur suffered a reverse. This gladdened the hearts of the war-prisoners who numbered a lakh. For this serious crime they were all punished with death and Maulana Nasiruddin Umar who had never killed even a sparrow in his life had to butcher fifteen human beings. Human life seemed to count for nothing in the eyes of the frenzied warrior.

On December 17, Timur engaged the army of Mahmud which was soon scattered and the luckless Sultan fled to Gujerat for safety. His regent fled towards Baran and the people of Delhi trembled at their fate. The story of other towns was faithfully repeated at Delhi as well. For days together rapine, murder, arson and rape continued unabated. The citizens put up some resistance but disorganised civilians could be no match to the organised fury of soldiers and the result was a frightful massacre of the people. Siri, Jahanpanah and Old Delhi were deserted and ruined and numerous towers of skulls of the dead stood as memorials of wholesale slaughter. Only masons and craftsmen were spared their lives and were carried away to Central Asia to slave for Timur.

Timur secured incalculable wealth from the loot of Delhi. Laden with this, he started on the return journey via Firuzabad, Wazirabad, Meerut, Hardwar, Jammu and Lahore, reaching the last place in March 1399. He had to face some opposition all along the journey but victory always leaned to his side and the routine of arson, loot and murder followed the familiar pattern. He was met on the way by Bahadur Nahir and Khizr Khan who acknowledged his suzerainty. At Lahore, a durbar was held at which Khizr Khan was nominated as the governor of Lahore, Multan and Dipalpur. He then ordered all his begs and captains to proceed to their respective places of duty while he himself started for Samarqand.

EFFECTS OF TIMUR'S INVASION:

The whole tract lying on the route of Timur presented a scene of devastation and ruin and normal life of the people was thoroughly upset. Delhi was without a master. It was in a state of ruin and many of its fine monuments were lost. The stench of the dead corpses brought epidemic in its train. The invader had carried away as much grain as he could and had set fire to the rest, not sparing even the corn in the fields. The result was a severe famine and the capital presented such scenes of horror and scarcity that it was unfit for habitation for some time to come.

The people of India in general and the Hindus in particular had suffered heavy losses in men and money. Timur not only carried away things; he also destroyed what he had to leave behind. It would be years before these losses could be made good. Hindu antipathy for Islam had now increased a hundred-fold from what it had been under Firuz for all this devastation and ruin was done in the name of religion. They also lost faith in the Sultanate and realized the need for making their own arrangements for their defence and security.

The Sultanate of Delhi was all but annihilated by this invasion. Who could have any respect for a Sultanate whose capital had been sacked, treasury rifled and the king and his minister untraceable? Muzaffar Shah in Gujerat and the Sharqis of Jaunpur had already asserted their independence. Dilawar Khan, the governor of Malwa owned no master while the Punjab and northern Sindh was held by Khizr Khan as a deputy of Timur. Governors of Samana, Bayana, Kalpi and Mahoba also acted as they pleased. Local Hindu Rajas also stopped paying tribute and started extending their sphere of influence.

But while the Sultan and his subjects suffered so grievously Timur gained a lot. His reputation rose high and his financial resources were greatly augmented which he partially employed in the construction of noble edifices, embellished and executed by Indian talent. Timur also received tribute from the Punjab which extended the limits of his empire without adding to his responsibilities.

END OF THE TUGHLUQS:

Now to turn to the scenes at Delhi. After sometime, Nusrat Shah occupied the capital and sent an army on the track of Mallu Khan who however defeated it with the support of Hindu Rajas and reoccupied the capital. Nusrat Shah retired into Mewat where he soon died.

Mallu Khan bent his energies to stabilising his power once again. The governor of Bayana was defeated, reconciled and carried on an expedition against Jaunpur but treacherously murdered on the way back to Delhi. Similarly, he murdered Mubarak Khan the son of Bahadur Nahir and then turned against his erstwhile Hindu allies. This did not add so much to his power as to his infamy.

Now with a view to exploit the name of the Sultan, he invited Mahmud to return to the capital. Mahmud had suffered great indignities in Gujerat. Being fed up with them, he went to Dhar. But Dilawar Khan treated him no better. It was at such a moment of humiliation and disgrace that he received the message of Mallu Khan. Hence he immediately started for Delhi but on reaching there, he found his position worse than ever. Hence when in 1402 Mallu Khan attacked Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, he deserted the enemy. Here too he had only insults and jeers. Hence he moved again, this time going to Kanauj, seizing it by force and settling down in peace. This was intolerable to Mallu who attacked the town but failed to capture it. If Mallu had lived, he would not have allowed the Sultan to live in peace. But fortunately for Mahmud, Mallu was killed in 1405 in an encounter against Khizr Khan.

Thrice before 1405 had Mahmud preferred self-interest to duty. Twice had he gone over to the enemy to improve his lot. Nothing could be expected from such a graceless individual. He was fit to be merely a tool in the hands of some ambitious man. In 1405, Daulat Khan secured pre-eminence at Delhi and he invited the Sultan to return to his capital with all honour and respect. But they had enemies on all sides. In 1406, they attacked Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. The latter retaliated by capturing Kanauj and pursued them upto Baran and Sambhal. But he was called back on the report of an invasion of his own territory by the ruler of Gujerat. In the same way when Daulat Khan attacked Khizr Khan, the latter proved so strong that he seized Sunnam, Sarhind and Hisar as well. During such scenes of decay and ruin, Mahmud Shah died in 1412. With his death, the Tughluq dynasty came to an end although his successors on the throne of Delhi continued for a time to issue coins in the name of the Tughluqs. After Mahmud, Daulat Khan became the master of Delhi but in 1414 he was defeated by Khizr Khan who founded a new dynasty of his own.

CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE TUGHLUQS :

Among the pre-Mughal Muslim dynasties of India, the Tughluqs had the longest span of life. It was during their rule that the Turkish empire in India reached its widest limits and again it was under them that the forces of disintegration became so powerful that they destroyed the Sultanate for good. Why did the dynasty come to such an end? Ghiyas-uddin Tughluq had been unanimously raised to the throne. His policy helped to strengthen the roots of his dynasty still further. His son and successor Sultan Muhammad was a unique person. During his reign famine and pestilence became the order of the day. His novel schemes amazed and astounded the people and the failure of some of them lowered his credit. Large extent of the empire rendered effective control from any one centre impossible. The forces of disintegration implicit in all monarchies, began to show themselves. The Hindus broke the chains that bound them while the Turkish governors vied with each other in founding independent dynasties of their own. Unfortunately for the Sultan, there was great paucity of able generals and the few that existed did not heartily cooperate with him. Rebellious designs of the foreign amirs complicated the situation still further and the relentless nature and cruel punishments of the Sultan further fanned the flames of insurrection. Sindh, Bengal and the whole of the Deccan gained independence even before the Sultan was dead. Thus the break-up of the empire began in the reign of Sultan Muhammad.

His successor Firuz won the confidence of all classes of people by his kindness, generosity and love so that peace was restored. But he antagonised the Hindus by indulging in religious persecution. His foreign policy compromised the honour of the Sultanate, encouraged its enemies and rendered conquest of lost provinces impracticable. He broke the back of the state by demoralising the army and by encouraging corruption, jagirs, farming of revenues and enrolment of an army of slaves. The seeds of disintegration thus sown produced their evil effects even during the last years of his own reign. This sapped the vitality of the state from within. Incompetence of his successors enabled the *amirs* to engage in conspiracy and rebellion and growth of faction among them made the Sultanate weaker and weaker day by day. The invasion of Timur gave the final blow which assured the end of the dynasty. For sometime it was not clear as to who would step into the breach—the Sharqis of Jaunpur or Khizr Khan, the governor of the Punjab. This too was settled when in 1414 Khizr Khan laid the foundation of the Sayyad dynasty.

Breakup of the Tughluq empire had begun in 1335 and it took 77 years before the dynasty finally came to an end. In the case of other dynasties the time lag between beginning of disintegration and final collapse was never so great. This too needs an explanation. Firuz the third ruler of this dynasty was so good and generous that there was hardly anything to gain by rebellion. Hence during his reign, the nobles did not contemplate rebellion at all. He had a long reign of 37 years which postponed the evil day for so long. When he died, his successors were no doubt weak and incompetent but obedience to the Tughluqs had become so habitual that nobody dared to incur the odium of change of dynasty. Finally, the nobles were so jealous of each other that none was willing to submit to the other. This too prolonged the life of the dynasty.

Further Readings

1. Elliot and Dowson—Vol. III.
2. Tripathi—pp. 64-77 ; 282-291.
3. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
4. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 173-205.
5. Ishwari Prasad—Mediaeval India, pp. 296-352.

Chapter XII

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION—RISE OF PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS

Characteristics of the fifteenth century :

The independent kingdoms that followed in the wake of the break-up of the Tughluq dynasty gradually acquired strength and stability. The Tughluqs were succeeded by the Sayyads on the throne of Delhi but they lacked the vigour and ability to win back even one of the lost provinces. On the contrary, the neighbours of the Sayyads began to nibble at their territory and were able to swallow up a part of it here and there. Thus the government centred at Delhi was in no way superior to the independent provincial kingdoms of the day. It commanded a little higher respect only because it was associated with the capital of the former Sultans of Delhi. Thus the first half of the 15th century was a period of political disintegration and foundation of a paramount empire appeared the least likely. In the latter half of the century, Delhi passed into the hands of a dynasty that initiated afresh the process of unification of the land. But it was left to Akbar to achieve real and comprehensive unification. Thus one of the characteristics of the 15th century is the absence of a strong centralised power. But Muslim power and civilization continued to grow more and more widespread, because most of the independent kingdoms of this period were ruled by Muslims who in their respective spheres tried to curb or crush the political power of the Hindus and encouraged art and letters in imitation of the former Sultans of Delhi. Another characteristic of the period is the coming of the Hindus and the Muslims in closer contact of each other and development of relations of amity and goodwill. There were some fanatical rulers no doubt but it was generally noticed that people had risen above the narrow sectarian outlook to adopt a secular standpoint. Hindus or Muslims now befriended or antagonised each other on grounds of political convenience rather than religious solidarity or animus. This new political outlook affected social relations also and feelings of neighbourliness began to characterise the relations of Hindus and Muslims towards each other. Saints of the period also attracted people of both the communities and their teachings were calculated to develop mutual understanding and goodwill. Thus the fifteenth century holds an important place in the national evolution of the land.

THE SAYYADS (1414-1451) :

The dynasty founded by Khizr Khan has been called the Sayyad dynasty. The basis for this is a tradition that when Malik Saliman, the father of Khizr Khan was helping the guests in their ablutions at a feast given by Malik Mardan Daulat, the governor of Multan under Sultan Firuz, Sayyad Jalal Bokhari protested against it on the ground that Saliman was a Sayyad by birth.

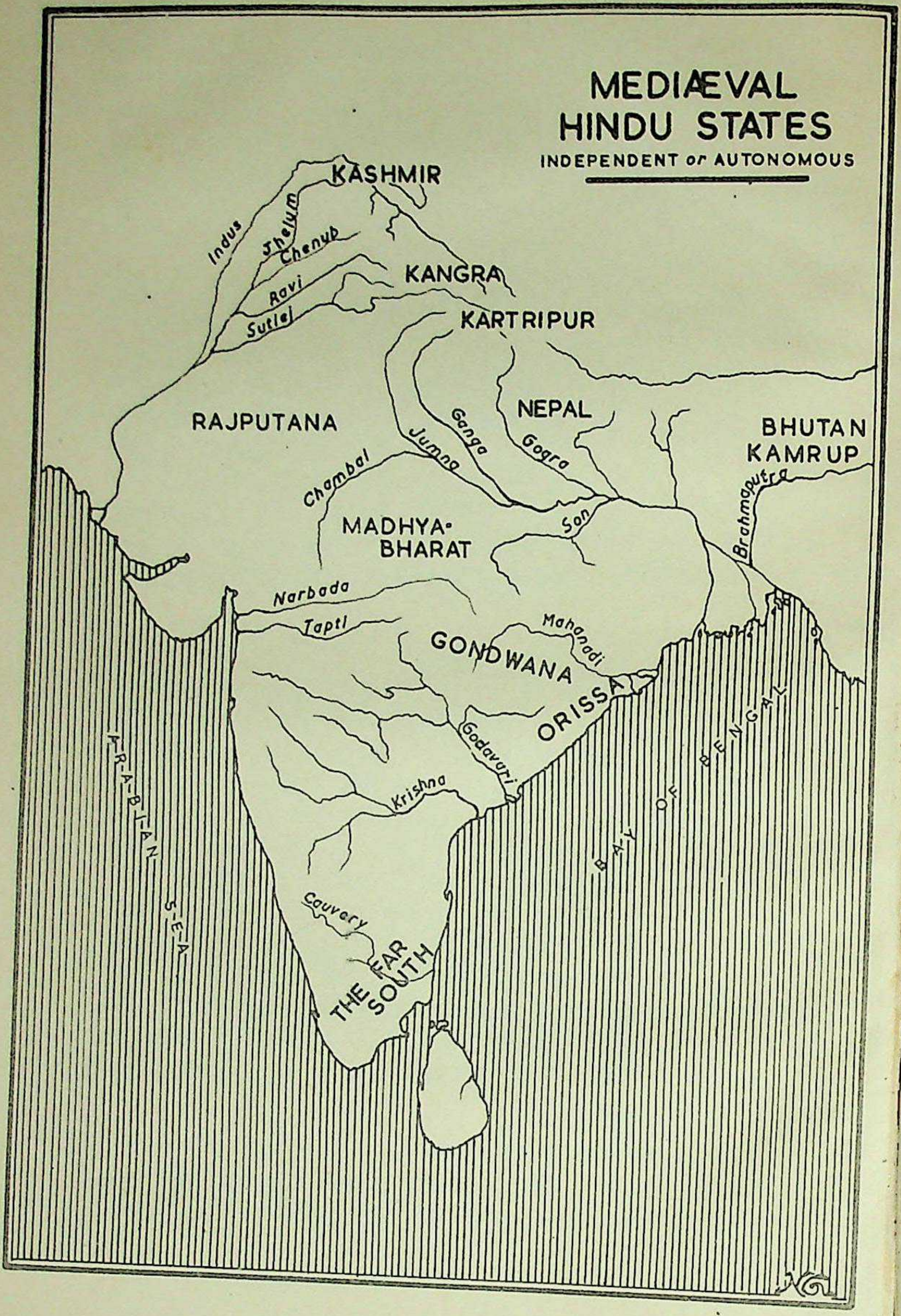
RISE OF KHIZR KHAN :

Khizr Khan was an upright, pious gentleman, known for his veracity, courtesy and humility. This endeared him to Sultan Firuz. Malik Mardan Daulat was also very kindly disposed towards him. Sometime after the demise of Malik Mardan, Firuz assigned Multan to Khizr Khan. This was the first important appointment of his career. When Sarang Khan acquired a dominant position in the north-west he drove Khizr Khan out of Multan and he went away to Delhi. During Timur's invasion of India, he joined the invader and made such an impression on him that he appointed him governor of Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore. This was the next step forward in his rise to power. When he defeated Mallu Khan in 1405, a fresh laurel was added to his glory and since then his rise to fame was steady and continuous till in 1414 he became the master of Delhi, and assumed the titles of *Rayat-i-ala* and *Masnad-i-ala*. He was so obsessed by the power of Timur that he neither assumed the style of Shah nor issued coins in his name. These marks of sovereignty were first assumed by his son and successor Sultan Mubarak Shah. The latter repudiated also the supremacy of the Timurids. Thus independent Sayyad monarchy began with his accession to the throne although the dynasty had been founded seven years earlier.

SAYYAD MONARCHS :

The dyansty consisted of four rulers who together ruled for 37 years. Khizr Khan (1414-1421) and Mubarak Shah (1421-1434) showed some martial vigour and succeeded in suppressing Hindu Rajas and Muslim *amirs* and in neutralising the efforts of their neighbours to seize Delhi territory. But the other two rulers—Muhammad Shah (1434-1444), and Alauddin Alam Shah (1444-1451)—were utterly weak and incompetent. During their rule, rebellions of the nobles increased, neighbouring rulers started seizing their districts and the power of the Afghans rose day by day till finally in 1451 Bahlul captured Delhi and founded the first Afghan Empire in India.

It would be more convenient to review the reigns of the first two Sultans in one unit and of the other two subsequently. Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah spent most of their time in fighthing either against rebels or rulers of neighbouring kingdoms. Storm centres of the Hindus during this period were Katehar, Khokhar land, Doab and Gwalior. Muslim revolts centred round Bayana,



MEDIÆVAL HINDU STATES

INDEPENDENT or AUTONOMOUS

KASHMIR
Indus
Jhelum
Chenub
Ravi
KANGRA
Sutlej
KARTRIPUR
RAJPUTANA
NEPAL
Ganga
Gogra
Jumna
BHUTAN
KAMRUP
Brahmaputra
Chambal
Son
MADHYA-BHARAT
Narbada
Tapti
Mahanadi
GONDWANA
ORISSA
Godavari
Krishna
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
Cauvery
THE FAR SOUTH

Badaun, Mewat, Sarhind and the Punjab. Among neighbours they had generally to collide against Malwa, Gujerat and Jaunpur.

DOAB AND KATEHAR :

In the Doab and Katehar the Rajputs and Khatris of Koil, Sambhal, Chandwar, Kampila, Etawah and Badaun were particularly active. The most powerful leader among them was Raja Vir Singh. In 1414, Khizr Khan sent Taj-ul-mulk, the *Wazir* to put down the rebels in this region. In 1418, he personally went there and in 1420 had to send Taj-ul-mulk again. But he did not secure any remarkable success. The Hindu chiefs when vanquished in war agreed to pay tribute but they forgot their promises as soon as the Sultan's army had retreated. Mubarak Shah also had to struggle hard between 1423 and 1425 before he was able to levy tribute from this region.

GWALIOR :

The Rajas of Gwalior brought the neighbouring districts under their sway and proceeded to rule as independent princes. Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah invaded Gwalior territory in 1415, 1416, 1421 and 1426 but it had no permanent results. The Raja first put up a resistance and when found it untenable made his submission on promise of paying tribute but he never stuck to his promise. That is why, whenever the Sayyads had leisure they marched into their territory to realize tribute at the point of the sword.

KHOKHARS :

But the Khokhars were more dangerous than any other group. Mubarak Shah had to fight repeatedly against them. Their leader was Dashrath or Jasrath Khokhar. He started plundering and devastating Muslim occupied territory and in 1421 laid siege to Sarhind. Sultan Mubarak Shah rolled him back but he appeared next year again and attacked Lahore. The Sultan defeated him again and he was forced to fall back. In 1428, he made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Jalandhar. Between 1429 and 1433 there was serious anarchy in the Punjab and the Khokhars also contributed to it. But ultimately Mubarak Shah put down all rebels and enemies and for sometime there was peace in the Punjab.

MEWAT :

Among the Muslim nobles, Bahadur Nahir and his descendants never heartily accepted the suzerainty of the Sayyads. Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah had to lead about half a dozen invasions against them but it led to no permanent results and the authority of the Sayyads over this region was only nominal.

SARHIND :

Malik Toghan, the governor of Sarhind rebelled twice and was each time defeated. He was then transferred to Jalandhar and cooperated for sometime in the suppression of anarchy in the Punjab but later on he allied himself with the Khokhars against the Sayyads.

PUNJAB :

Between 1429 and 1433 many Muslim nobles rebelled in the Punjab. One of them was Paulad, the governor of Bhatinda, another, Sarang Khan and a third, Malik Toghan, referred to above. Just then Shaikh Ali from Kabul also marched in while the Khokhars started their raids in the north. Sultan Mubarak Shah faced the situation with great fortitude and courage and finally succeeded in overcoming all opponents. But before he could evolve an orderly government for the Punjab he was murdered so that the authority of his descendants over this province soon came to an end.

BAYANA :

Another centre of Muslim disaffection was Bayana lying to the south-east of Delhi. It was ruled by the Auhadis. They had acquired virtual independence after Timur's invasion and there was no change in their status even during this period.

FOREIGN RELATIONS :

It was not long after Khizr Khan's occupation of Delhi that Ahmad Shah I, the ruler of Gujerat attacked Nagor and laid siege to the fort. When Khizr Khan marched against him, he retired without fighting.

Sultan Hushang, the ruler of Malwa attacked Gwalior in 1424. Although the Raja of Gwalior was not always loyal to the Sayyads, Mubarak regarded him as his vassal and was unwilling to let him pass under the suzerainty of someone else. That is why he started to give battle to Hushang. Hushang tried to hold him up on the banks of the Chambal but Mubarak Shah forded the river at another point and crossing to the other bank inflicted a defeat on Hushang who was forced to retreat to Malwa. In 1434, the governor of Kalpi accepted the suzerainty of Malwa. Mubarak Shah was intent on unsettling this but he was assassinated on the way.

Sharqis, the eastern neighbours of the Sayyads had more intimate contacts with them. Ever since the days of Mahmud Shah Tughluq, the Sharqis had tried to seize Delhi. But Khizr Khan baulked them of their ambitions and thus incurred their abiding hostility. It was in 1426-1427 for the first time that the Sharqis got a chance to intervene. Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Bayana wanted to retain his independence while Mubarak Shah was pressing him to submit to his authority. In this contingency, he sought the help of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Ibrahim Shah advanced at the head of an army as far as Kalpi. He later seized Bhogaon and Badaun. Now he sought to form a junction with the rebels at Bayana. But Mubarak Shah rapidly marched forward to foil this and inflicted such a defeat on him that he was obliged to retreat to Jaunpur. Bhogaon and Badaun again passed into Sayyad hands.

Assassination of Mubarak Shah (1434) :

During his reign of thirteen years. Mubarak Shah made strenuous efforts to extend the authority of the Sultan of Delhi. He not only put down the revolts of Hindu chiefs and Muslim nobles but inflicted defeats also on the rulers of Malwa and Jaunpur. At the same time, he tried to restore order in the government. All officers and ministers of doubtful loyalty were dismissed or kept under strict supervision. But this made him increasingly unpopular. During the Punjab disturbances he had associated Kamaluddin with Sarwar-ul-mulk in order to keep an eye over the latter. This greatly offended Sarwar-ul-mulk who in collaboration with Miran Sadr planned the murder of the Sultan. Two Khatris named Sidharan and Siddhapal along with their servant Ranu were hired for this job and they murdered the Sultan in February 1434.

Decline and fall of the Sayyads :

With the death of Mubarak Shah, decline of the dynasty set in. His successor Muhammad Shah was a very weak ruler. Sarwar-ul-mulk completely dominated him. The Khatri assassins acquired great influence which was deeply resented by the Sultan. Enemies of Sarwar-ul-mulk also began to organise vengeance. Kamaluddin and Illahdad Lodi the governor of Sambhal took a leading part in this. By their efforts, Sarwar-ul-mulk and his associates were killed and Kamaluddin was appointed the *Wazir*.

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi took advantage of the weakness of Muhammad Shah to occupy his south-eastern districts. In 1440, Mahmud Khilji the ruler of Malwa sought to capture Delhi itself. Some of the Sayyad nobles were in secret league with him. But Muhammad Shah was able to save himself by calling to his aid Bahlul, the Afghan governor of Sarhind.

Mahmud Shah Sharqi extended his pressure on Sayyad territory. Muhammad Shah conciliated him by offering his sister or daughter, Bibi Raji in marriage to him. Mahmud Shah for the time being desisted from further attack, probably in deference to the wishes of his Sayyad wife.

But Alauddin Alam Shah the son and successor of Muhammad Shah was worse than even his father. During his reign, power of the Afghans rapidly increased and Bahlul became the master of the whole of the Punjab. Hamid Khan, the *wazir* of the Sultan was his personal friend. Although Hamid was doing his best to uphold the authority of the Sultan but the latter could not distinguish even between friends and foes. Consequently since 1447 he started living at Badaun despite the protests of Hamid Khan and later at the instigation of some nobles, he ordered even his execution. Just then Bahlul attacked Delhi and Hamid Khan who had somehow escaped from Badaun to Delhi joined hands with him and put an end to the Sayyad dynasty by placing him on the throne.

THE SHARQIS OF JAUNPUR :

Among the newly established kingdoms of the 15th century, the closest neighbour of the Sultanate of Delhi was Junpur. It had been founded by Malik Sarwar in 1394. He had received the title of Malik-us-Sharq and by his exertions he had subdued the entire tract from Koil in the west to Bihar and Tirhut in the east. Impressed by his rising power, the ruler of Bengal had promised to send him elephants every year.

Besides Malik Sarwar, there were five other rulers in this dynasty—Mubarak Shah (1399-1402), Ibrahim Shah (1402-1436), Mahmud Shah (1436-1457, Muhammad Shah (1457-1458) and Husain Shah (1458-1500).

It is the Sultans of Delhi who attracted the attention of the Sharqis most. Their relations with the Sayyads have already beeh detailed. Between the Lodis and the Sharqis fighting continued for practically forty years an account of which will be found in the next chapter. They made wars also against the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Malwa and the Hindu Rajas of Orissa and Jharkhand. But their foreign policy was not much of a success.

Their greatest achievement lies in the sphere of art and letters. In this respect Ibrahim Shah Sharqi stands pre-eminent. Besides Persian literature they patronised Hindi as well. Their court contained so many and so hightly gifted poets and literateurs that it was called the Shiraz of the east. They also reared up many noble edifices but most of them were destroyed by Sikandar Lodi. Still, those that remain, testify to their devotion to art. Among their extant monuments, the most notable are the Atala Devi Mosque, Jama Masjid, Jhanjhira Masjid and the Lal Darwaza Masjid. In Jaunpur architecture the most notable thing is the facade of the mosques. Atala Devi and the Jama Masjid are huge structures and they have been given entrances proportionate to their size. The actual entrance is comparatively small and the remaining space in the upper part of it is artistically filled up with designs of doors and windows. The total effect of this all is very pleasing and the dignity and bulk of the entire structure is brought out in a bold and pleasing relief.

BENGAL :

Eastern neighbours of the Sharqis were the rulers of Bengal. As indicated earlier, Bengal did not long remain under the tutelage of Delhi. The Tughluqs retained authority over it from 1324 to 1337 after which the whole of Bengal became independent and continued to be such practically for 200 years. The Surs subdued it once again but their authority did not last even for ten years and as soon as Sher Shah died, it regained its independence. It lost its independence finally in the reign of Akbar when Daud was defeated and killed.

During this period, a number of dynasties ruled over Bengal one of which was founded by Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur. On acquiring power, he tried to strengthen the hands of the Hindus but the latter were so disorganised that he had finally to agree to conversion of his son before he could be accepted as the ruler in 1414 and was called Jalaluddin Muhammad.

The dynasty of Raja Ganesh was ended by one of the nobles who mounted the throne in 1442 and called himself Nasiruddin Mahmud. He was murdered in 1486 by an Abyssinian who mounted the throne under the style of Barbak Shah. This was followed by the foundation of a Sayyad dynasty in which Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah acquired great renown. In 1538, Sher Shah supplanted this dynasty and established the hegemony of the Afghans which lasted for about 40 years.

During the rule of these Sultans, Bengali language and literature made much progress. Many original works were produced and along side of them there were translations from Sanskrit and Persian. The rulers tried to reform the economic and social conditions as well, and as a result of the efforts of the saints of both the communities Hindus and Muslims came much closer to each other. The architectural monuments of this region are characterised by the use of coloured tiles and curvilinear roofs, a device of safety against heavy rains.

MALWA :

The rulers of Bengal were generally let alone because their kingdom lay in an extremity of India. The position of Malwa was just the reverse of it. Its rulers were always kept on the saddle because of the encroachments of its neighbours. The independent kingdom of Malwa was founded by Dilawar Khan. But his son took offence at the respect shown to Mahmud Shah Tughluq when he went to Dhar from Gujerat and he established himself at Mandu. After a while he murdered his father and became king himself under the style of Hushang Shah. The son of Hushang was supplanted by Mahmud Khilji whose family ruled over Malwa for about 100 years after which Malwa was annexed to Gujerat.

There were five notable rulers in this kingdom—Hushang Shah (1406-1435), Mahmud Khilji I (1436-1469), Ghiyasuddin (1469-1500), Nasiruddin (1500-1511) and Mahmud Khilji II (1511-1531).

Hushang's relations with the Sayyads have been referred to earlier. But he suffered the greatest discomfiture of his life when he was carried away as a prisoner by Muzaffar Shah Gujerati. The greatest ruler of the kingdom was Mahmud I. He maintained friendly relations with the Sharqis and the Lodis. But he effected a number of conquests in Rajputana and towards the south. Bundi and Ajmer were annexed and he raised a tower of victory at Mandu. The Egyptian Caliph sent him a letter of investiture on hearing of his military exploits. Mahmud maintained internal peace and security and his subjects were on the whole happy and prosperous.

His son Ghiyasuddin spent most of his time in the company of women. His greatest hobby was collection of young beauties of different nationalities to adorn his harem or to act as their attendants. Hence decline set in and the kingdom came to an end when during the reign of Mahmud II it was annexed by Bahadur Shah of Gujerat.

The rulers of this kingdom also patronised art and a number of noble edifices adorned the cities of Dhar and Mandu. Their greatest contribution however is their patronage of music.

GUJERAT :

One of the neighbours of Malwa was the kingdom of Gujerat butting on the Arabian sea. The first independent ruler of this kingdom was Zafar Khan who declared his independence as Muzaffar Shah in 1396. Among the ten rulers of the kingdom only three deserve special mention viz., Ahmad Shah (1411-1442), Mahmud Shah Bigadh (1458-1511) and Bahadur Shah (1526-1537). The Sultans of Gujerat broke the power of local Hindu Rajas and even secured conversion of some of them such as the chiefs of Girnar and Champaner. They waged ceaseless wars against the rulers of Malwa and Rajputana and Bahadur Shah won the glory of annexing both Malwa and Chitor althouth his triumph proved very short-lived. The rulers of this kingdom made wars also against Khandesh, Delhi, Sindh and the Bahmanids. After the coming of the Portuguese into India, they fought against them too. The dynasty finally came to an end because of the hostility of the Portuguese and the Mughals and the incompetence of later Sultans.

They contributed to internal progress as well. Ahmad Shah founded the town of Ahmadabad and made it his capital. He earned high renown for his justice, piety and valour. He ordered the execution of his own son-in-law because he was guilty of murder and countermanded the order of the Qazi recommending a lighter punishment.

Mahmud Shah Bigadh was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He secured a number of victories and allied himself with the rulers of Calicut and Egypt against the Portuguese. He constructed a number of mosques too, one of which still stands at Champaner. The rulers of Gujerat promoted Gujerati language and literature and left behind a number of architectural monuments remarkable for fine lattice work of their windows and *baolis* (wells reached by stairs).

MEWAR :

Besides these there were a number of other states in Northern India. Kashmir and Sindh had Muslim rulers. Rajputana had a number of Rajput principalities, the most influential among them being Mewar with its capital at Chitor and ruled by the famous Sisodiyas. The kingdom of Mewar started coming into prominence from the days of Rana Hammir who according to one tradition is credited even with capturing Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. This may not be a fact but this is patent that the Sultans of Delhi ceased to have any authority over Rajputana. Rana Kumbha was another great ruler of this dynasty. He made successful wars against his neighbours and as a monument of his triumphs erected a tower of victory called *Vijaya-stambha* at Chitor. He was also a patron of learning and a protector of his faith. The next important ruler after Kumbha was Rana Sanga who brought the whole of Rajputana and even a part of Malwa under his sway. A reference to the Sisodiyas will have repeatedly to be made in subsequent chapters.

OTHER MINOR STATES :

In the Himalayan tarai, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Malwa and Central India also there were a number of Hindu states of varying territorial dimensions which generally remained independent or temporarily submitted to a powerful neighbour when they found his pressure too strong to resist. In the rest of the land also there were hundreds of petty chiefs and *Rajas* who generally paid tribute to none and were constantly fighting in the defence of their autonomy.

BAHMANI KINGDOM :

In sourthern India and the Deccan there were two principal states—the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar kingdoms. They had little or no influence on North Indian politics but their mutual relation was of constant war against each other which ultimately brought about the end of both of them leading to the foundation of a number of smaller succession states.

The Bahmani kingdom was founded in 1347 by Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. He made Gulbarga the capital in place of Daulatabad. The dynasty lasted till 1518 and had a total of 14 kings, four of whom viz., Alauddin Hasan (1347-1358), Muhammad I (1358-1377), Firuz Shah (1398-1422) and Ahmad Shah Wali (1422-1435) are more famous.

Alauddin Hasan divided the kingdom into four units called the 'tarafs'. The officer of each one of them was called *tarafdar* and he was expected to maintain law and order and collect the royal dues. These *tarafdars* had their headquarters at Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar and Bidar.

During the reign of his son Muhammad I, administrative reorganisation went further ahead and his *wazir* Saifuddin Ghori divided the business of the central government into a number of departments and entrusted them to the care of 8 principal ministers. Their designations and functions were as follows :

(1) *Vakilus-Saltanat*—He corresponded to Malik Naib or Vakil under the Sultans of Delhi.

(2) *Wazir-i-Kul*—He supervised the work of every minister except the Vakil.

(3) *Amir-i-Jumla*—He was the head of the Finance Department.

(4) *Wazir-i-ashraf*—He attended to foreign relations and duties at court.

(5). *Nazir*—He was attached to the finance department and acted as its deputy minister.

(6) *Peshwa*—He was attached to the Vakil.

(7) *Kotwal*—He was the head of the police and maintained law and order.

(8) *Sadr-i-jahan*—He was the head of the judicial, ecclesiastical and charity departments.

Having organised their internal administration, they turned towards territorial aggrandisement. They sometimes collided against the rulers of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujerat also, but their wars against the Hindu Rajas of Orissa, Vijayanagar and Warangal were almost intermittent. These wars were mainly inspired by lust for power and religious fanaticism. Hindu Rajas dreamed of cleansing the Deccan of the rule of the *mlechchhas*. Hence they attacked the Bahmanids whenever an opportunity offered itself. Bahmani rulers on the other hand considered it a divine obligation to extend Islamic culture over the whole of the Deccan. Muslims were numerically far inferior to the Hindus. Hence a number of Bahmani rulers tried to raise the morale of their troops by raising the slogan of *jehad*. For the same reason, they indulged in senseless massacres of lakhs of Hindus. Hindus tried to avenge this wrong by retaliation.

But Bukka I and Muhammad I came to an agreement that civilians should not be massacred.

Mahmud Gawan, the prime minister of Muhammad III made a successful attempt to stem the rot in the kingdom and introduced a number of administrative reforms. He divided each *taraf* into two parts so that the *tarafdars* may not grow inordinately powerful or rebellious. He reduced their powers and extended supervision by the centre. He reformed the administration of justice and reorganised the finances of the state. Provision was also made for public education. For the imposition of an equitable land tax, he ordered survey and measurement and classified land according to its yield. Local rent collectors were kept under proper control and all cases of corruption or exaction were suitably punished. This improved the lot of the peasants. The army was also reorganised. The net result of all these changes and reforms was that the central government gained in power at the cost of local governors. Hence the latter became hostile to Gawan and organised a conspiracy to secure his murder on a faked charge of treason. The foolish monarch signed the death-warrant of Gawan and thereby of his own dynasty. The Bahmani ruler was soon set aside and the kingdom got divided into five independent principalities—Berar, Bidar, Golkunda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

The annals of the rulers of this dynasty inspire no respect or reverence for them. They generally kept their subjects peaceful and orderly, patronised art and letters and adorned Gulbarga and Bidar with beautiful palaces. But there is repeated and sickening reference to their debaucheries, cruel murders of innocent civilians, exploitation of the people in the name of religion and indulgence in their own whims and fancies. Their piety did not inspire restraint of passions or purity of conduct. According to them, the essence of religion lay in torturing the Hindus, desecration of their temples, massacre of their people irrespective of age or sex or obliging them to repeat the *Kalima* under duress. Inspite of all this, it must be conceded that the way they upheld Muslim authority in a hostile environment bears eloquent testimony to their determination and military prowess.

VIJAYANAGAR:

The neighbour and permanent enemy of the Bahmani kingdom was Vijayanagar. It had been founded in 1336 by Harihar and Bukka in collaboration with a saint named Vidyaranya. For reasons of political expediency, Harihar and Bukka refrained from assuming titles suggestive of their sovereignty. But Harihar II, the third ruler of the dynasty called himself Maharajadhiraj and thus proclaimed his independence in unmistakable terms.

Between 1336 and 1565, Vijayanagar was ruled by three different dynasties. The first two of these were contemporaries of Bahmanids but during the rule of the third the Bahmani kingdom had broken up into five Muslim states. Consequently, it did not have to face as violent an opposition of the Muslims as the first two had to do.

The first dynasty ruled from 1336 to 1486. They did not meet with much success in their wars against the Bahmanids. It were they who were usually defeated. But the Bahmanid Sultans were never poweful enough either to occupy Vijayanagar or to bring any substantial part of that kingdom under their permanent subjection. The usual tale was that the Sultans would enter the Raichur Doab, devastate the land and oppress the Hindus. But on their return, the rulers of Vijayanagar drove out their agents and reoccupied their lost districts. These rulers were more successful in their wars against the Hindu states of the south and they gradually extended their authority to the Far South.

The other dynasty ruled for a very short period and came to an end in 1505. During its regime administrative reforms were carried out and wars were made both against the Bahmanids and the Hindu Rajas of Tamil land. They too failed to get the better of the Bahmanids but against the latter they gained a number of victories.

The third dynasty ruled from 1505 to 1570. Krishna Deva Ray the greatest among the rulers of Vijayanagar belonged to this dynasty. Babar refers to his great power in his Memoirs. Contemporary historians also have spoken highly of his personality, administrative reforms and military calibre. He avenged earlier reverses of the Hindus by inflicting defeats on the Muslim Sultans. But his triumphs made him very vain and arrogant. Hence Muslim states were made conscious of the need to reduce the power of Vijayanagar. After the death of Krishna Deva Ray, Ramaraja the minister of Sadashiva, also was very severe to the subjects of Muslim states. He did not pause to consider the possibility of the enemy making a common cause against him. Hence when in 1565, the united forces of Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda resolutely advanced for a decisive encounter, he was unable to face them and was defeated and killed. The victors now marched upon the capital and remained encamped for a period of five months. Loot and arson, massacre and devastation was so thoroughly practised that the city of Vijayanagar so highly praised by indigenous authors and foreign travellers for its beauty and prosperity was reduced to shambles, rendering all efforts at revival and reconstruction impossible. Hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered and innumerable persons of either sex were carried away as slaves. The glory of Vijayanagar was completely destroyed. The territory and power of later rulers was greatly restricted so that in course of time they were reduced to the status of subordinate chiefs.

ADMINISTRATION OF VIJAYANAGAR:

The administrative set-up of Vijayanagar deserves special mention. The aim of the state was defence and preservation of Hindu culture, Hindu religion and the Hindu masses against the onslaughts of the *mlechchhas*. Thus Brahmin ministers had great influence in the government and it can by no means be called a secular state. But unlike the Bahmani kingdom, followers of other faiths were not subjected to any persecution. Rulers of this state meted out similar treatment to Jains, Vaishnavas and Shaivas and each one of them had full freedom of religious worship. No discrimination was shown against the Muslims either and when Deva Ray recruited Muslims soldiers he made provision for construction of mosques for them. Muslim subjects of the Raja had every facility in the state. Their fanatical wrath was exhibited only in retaliatory attacks on the Muslim subjects of the Bahmani Sultans.

The king was advised by a council consisting of ministers, provincial governors, military leaders. priests and poets. They were chosen by the king and he was under no obligation to abide by their advice when he consulted them. Their function was thus purely advisory. The court was held with great magnificence. It was attended by feudal nobles, learned Brahmins, astrologers, ministers, poets and artists. Like Muslim rulers, they too expended large sums on their courts. Festivals like Dipawali, Mahanavami and Holi were celebrated with great joy and gaiety and on such occasions the court presented a scene of great picturesqueness, artistic decoration and magnificence which left a very pleasing effect on the spectators.

The whole empire was divided into about 200 provinces. They were put in charge of members of the royal family, baronial lords and scions of vassal rulers. One third of the provincial revenues was deposited in the royal treasury and the rest was utilized to cover the cost of local administration. The governors had extensive powers in the sphere of internal administration. But if they were guilty of treason or oppression they were severely punished. Hence ordinarily they never rose in revolt.

Provinces were divided into districts called Nadu or Kottam and these latter were divided into parganas while the lowest unit of government was the village, administered by a village panchayat and some hereditary officers. The panchayats proved very useful in the administration of justice, collection of local taxes, and maintenance of law and order.

Beside the land tax, a number of tolls and cesses, were also realized but it is not accurately known as to what really was the burden on the taxpayer. Taxes were perhaps not light. But they do not seem to have been oppressively heavy. In comparison to the nobility and royal employees the peasants were surely much poorer but that equally applies to all other states.

The government was a military despotism. Disputes were generally settled by local officers but there is no clear evidence of the existence of any graded system of law-courts. The army too was in a similar state. The king had some personal soldiers, a vast majority of whom were footmen. The royal army mostly consisted of contingents under provincial governors and local officers. Hence it had all the defects of a feudal army. Their armies though pretty numerous repeatedly lost against the Muslim armies of the north because their cavalry force was comparatively small and they did not pay adequate attention to the training of their troops. Nor did the soldiers of such armies have that sense of devotion towards the Raja as is associated with the soldiers of standing central armies.

Domestic administration of Vijayanagar thus had a number of weaknesses. It neither protected the interests of the masses nor left room for the evolution of a strong centralised monarchy. The defects found in the Hindu feudal system on the eve of Turkish invasions persisted even now. The downfall of Vijayanagar was very largely the result of this.

ART AND LITERATURE:

The rulers of Vijayanagar were great patrons of Telugu and Sanskrit literatures which made great progress under their aegis. They always honoured literateurs, poets and learned men and assigned to them suitable jagirs. They were great builders too and erected huge temples, exquisite palaces and strong forts. But most of their buildings have been destroyed and our knowledge about them is based on the writings of contemporaries. On the whole, the Vijayanagar kingdom will be long remembered in the history of India for its magnificence and defence of Hindu culture.

CONCLUSION:

Division of the land into numerous independent principalities led to dispersal of political power and the country lost its capacity to defend itself against foreign invaders. But their existence was not an unmitigated evil. Existence of numerous centres of political authority offered opportunities of employment in the service of the state to a much larger number, local needs now received much greater attention and local peculiarities were preserved. Provincial kingdoms promoted the growth of local languages and provided an opportunity to the local artists, local artisans and craftsmen, and local literatures to develop their genius in a congenial atmosphere. Thus they raised the cultural content of the masses and added to the volume and number of artistic and literary creations. In many cases an attempt was made at promoting religious goodwill and mutual amity between the Hindus and the Muslims in particular and the various sects in general. Thus independent existence of these states had many beneficial results as well.

Further Readings

1. Ishwari Prasad—Medieval India, pp. 354-484.
2. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 206-227, 251-432.
3. Basu—Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi (English version).

Section 5

AFGHAN HEGEMONY

XIII. The First Afghan Empire.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST AFGHAN EMPIRE

WHO WERE THE AFGHANS?

The tribal people inhabiting the hilly tracts extending from Multan and Peshawer in the east to the Sulaiman Range and Ghazni in the west were described as Afghans or Pathans. They were tall and fair and possessed a strong constitution. They were by nature warlike and lacked neither courage nor heroism. But they could not be brought under a single leader and their state of culture was rather low. They were divided into a number of tribes and members of the tribe looked upon each other as equal brethren. They chose their own leaders and while doing so paid due regard to the candidate's age, valour and capacity for leadership. There was no special sanctity attaching to any particular family. Thus their organisation was based on equality and democracy. Their normal profession was cattle-breeding but they had no compunction in supplementing their income, when necessary, by robbing their wealthier neighbours and they did not consider it immoral or unworthy. Some of them engaged themselves in trade as horse-dealers. Their economic condition, on the whole, could not be described as good and even upto the beginning of the fourteenth century they commanded no respect.

AFGHANS IN INDIA:

Impressed by their strength and virility, Mahmud of Ghazni recruited a number of them to his army. Indian rulers had also employed them for we know that there was an Afghan contingent in the armies of the Shahiyas and the Chauhans. But they were not given any high office. The Ilbaris settled them in hilly and rebellious tracts to ensure peace and security and they helped in strengthening the roots of the newly founded Muslim dominion in India by ruthlessly suppressing the rebels. Even upto the time of the Khiljis the Turks considered the Afghans so contemptible that on suspecting the Khiljis to be Afghans and not Turks, they could not reconcile themselves to the idea of remaining under their authority. The Afghans acquired greater prominence under the Tughluqs. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq two brothers Malik Mal and Malik Makh Afghan were enrolled as amirs and the latter became the ruler of Daulatabad for sometime. The number of Afghans coming to India considerably increased under Firuz. The majority of these latter were Lodis, Surs, Niyazis and Nuhanis. All these clans were inter-related and were descended from a common stock, the Ghilzais. They called themselves Afghan, although there was some Tajik and Turkish blood also flowing in their veins.

THE ANCESTORS OF BAHLUL :

One of these immigrants was Malik Bahram. He entered the service of Malik Mardan Daulat, the governor of Multan. He had five sons : Sultan Shah, Malik Kala, Malik Firuz, Malik Muhammad and Malik Khwaja. They all grew up into manhood while Bahram was in the service of Malik Mardan. Among his sons, Sultan Shah acquired the greatest renown. When, after the death of Malik Mardan Daulat, Khizr Khan became the governor of Multan, Sultan Shah entered the service of the latter. After Timur's return from India, the importance of Khizr Khan began to increase and in 1405 he scored a victory over Mallu Khan. Sultan Shah had also taken part in this battle and it was he who had killed Mallu Khan. He, therefore, came in the good books of Khizr Khan who assigned to him the district of

Sarhind. When Khizr Khan became the Sultan, he enrolled a number of Afghans. Just about this time he conferred on Sultan Shah the title of Islam Khan and he became one of the important nobles of the realm. The first two Sayyads had to wage many wars against the Khokhars and the rebellious nobles of the Punjab. Islam Khan gave evidence of his devotion, courage and valour in all these wars. This won for him greater esteem at the Court and Yahya says that he was awarded the titles of Khan-i-Azam, Malik-us-Sharq, and Majlis-i-Ali.

THE BIRTH OF BAHLUL :

The younger brothers of Sultan Shah also lived with him. He had got Malik Kala appointed at Daurala. When Bahlul was still in the womb, the roof of the house suddenly collapsed and killed his mother. But Malik Kala ripped open the belly of his wife and to his great relief found the child alive. It · was this very child who later on founded the First Afghan Empire in India. After some time, Malik Kala was also killed in course of fighting against the Niyazis and Bahlul was deprived of parental affection while still in infancy.

BAHLUL'S EARLY CAREER :

But this was a blessing in disguise. Islam Khan took him under his care and brought him up with great affection and care. Islam Khan had his own children but he was fonder of Bahlul for he espied in his countenance the signs of his future greatness and he used to say that Bahlul would cover the family with glory and renown. He therefore gave him civil and military training and married him to his own daughter Shams Khatun. Just before his death which took place sometime between 1431-1433, Islam Khan nominated Bahlul as his successor. This shows that Islam Khan regarded him as the ablest in the Lodi family. There is a story that a faqir of Samana had also remarked on noticing Bahlul that he would one day become the Sultan of Delhi. Destiny seemed to shape things accordingly.

But Qutb Khan the son of Islam Khan did not accept the decision of his father. A meeting of the Afghans was called. It could not come to any unanimous decision. Instead, it led to the emergence of three groups. One of these recommended acceptance of Islam Khan's nomination and choice of Bahlul as the leader of the Afghans and the governor of Sarhind. Another group laid stress on the age and status of Bahlul's uncle Firuz and wanted to elect him as the leader. The third and the last group stood by the principle of heredity and on that basis supported the claims of Qutb Khan. When Bahlul noticed this divergence of opinion he withdrew his candidature. The contest now lay between Firuz and Qutb Khan and the latter suffering. a discomfiture fled to Sultan Muhammad Shah and tried to impress on him the fact that if the Afghans were permitted to choose the governor of Sarhind by themselves, they would soon repudiate the authority of the Sultan altogether. At the same time he gave a solemn assurance that if the Sultan appointed him as the governor he would follow in the footsteps of his father and would remain loyal to the Sultan. Muhammad Shah secured the support of the Khokhars and sent an army under Sikandar Tuhfa which defeated the Afghans and placed Qutb Khan in charge of Sarhind. Firuz was captured but Bahlul managed to escape and having organised a band of followers started raiding Sayyad territory. In the meantime Firuz escaped from prison and he accepted the leadership of Bahlul. After sometime Bahlul was able to capture Sarhind itself and Qutb Khan was once more a fugitive to Delhi.

BAHLUL VS. HISAM KHAN :

Muhammad Shah now deputed his *wazir* Haji Shudani entitled Hisam Khan to lead an army against Bahlul. Hisam was defeated and retired to Delhi. This greatly enhanced the prestige of Bahlul and he became very popular with the Afghans. A little later, Qutb Khan also came back and was reconciled to Bahlul. Now Bahlul despatched a letter to Sultan Muhammad Shah in which he professed his loyalty to the Sultan and promised to present himself personally at the court and take orders from him provided Hisam Khan, his enemy at the court, was executed and replaced by Hamid Khan. Sultan Muhammad who was devoid of all practical wisdom had his loyal *wazir* executed and Bahlul on hearing of this promptly repaired to court and offered his homage to the Sultan.

BAHLUL OCCUPIES THE PUNJAB (1440-1441) :

A few years after this, Bahlul leading the vanguard of the Delhi army inflicted a defeat on Mahmud Khilji of Malwa and the Sultan was so pleased with his success that he conferred on him the title of Khan-i-Khanan and called him *farzand* or son. On his way back to Sarhind, Bahlul occupied Lahore, Dipalpur, Sunnam and Hisar Firuza and when even on the Sultan's remonstrance he did not relax his hold on them the latter regularised his usurpation by a formal appointment. Bahlul's power had now considerably increased and he began planning occupation of Delhi itself.

CAPTURE OF DELHI (1451 A.D.) :

After the death of Muhammad Shah, Bahlul probably made the first attempt to seize Delhi but failed to do it. After sometime Sultan Alam Shah retired to Badaun and his power dwindled to such an extent that it was humorously remarked, "*Padshahi-i-Shah Alam, Az Delhi ta Palam*" i. e., the empire of the so-called Emperor of the world really extended from Delhi to Palam and no further. At the instigation of Isa Khan Turk, Raja Pratap and Qutb Khan he was planning the murder of his own wazir Hamid Khan, but the latter fled to Delhi and was able to secure admission into it. He took the royal palace and the treasury under his control and deputed his followers to keep watch over them. He was now looking for a person who on becoming the Sultan would retain him as the *wazir*. In the meantime Bahlul came up at the head of his troops and tried to force entry into the capital. Finally Bahlul and Hamid Khan came to an agreement according to which Bahlul was to become the Sultan and Hamid Khan was to enjoy the substance of power as *wazir*.

THE FALL OF HAMID KHAN :

Bahlul did not feel happy about it. He, therefore thought of a plan to oust Hamid Khan. Afghans were notorious for their lack of manners and vulgarity. Taking advantage of this Bahlul instructed them to pose as greater ignoramuses. Once when invited to a feast, they began asking for pieces of carpet so that they might have caps prepared for their children. They sipped off scent and when betels were taken round took lots of *chunam* and then started spitting right and left. On seeing all this. Hamid Khan got the impression that they were utterly boorish and unfit for polite society. That is why when on a subsequent occasion they forced themselves into the hall of audience, Hamid Khan overlooked it. But he was soon made a prisoner because it was impossible to offer any successful resistance.

ALAM SHAH ABDICATES THE THRONE :

Bahlul now addressed a letter to Sultan Alam Shah saying, "The traitor whom your father had promoted from the rank of a commoner to that of an *amir* I have thrown into prison because he was seditiously inclined towards you. Acting on your behalf, I have restored order to Government which of late had gone out of gear. I remain your majesty's most obedient servant." Alam Shah understood the situation. He knew that he could not oppose Bahlul. He therefore wrote back in reply, "I have grown sick of the burdens of royalty and that is why I have withdrawn myself from it. My father had called you *farzand* so that you are a brother unto me. In the present circumstances, you should carry on the Government for I have abdicated the throne and shall remain satisfied only with Badaun."

CORONATION OF BAHLUL (APRIL 1451 A. D.):

On receipt of this letter, Bahlul had himself crowned in April 1451 and he assumed the style of Abu Muzaffar Bahlul Shah. Thus the prophecy of the *darwesh* came true and the first Afghan Empire was formally founded. Bahlul issued coins in his own name which was included also in the *Khutba.*

DIFFICULTIES OF BAHLUL :

The occupation of Delhi by Bahlul made his problems more complex. The Sayyad ruler was still alive. Those who were devoted to him or profited by his weakness would never forgive Bahlul for his treasonable conduct and would never let him have peace. Secondly, the friends of Hamid Khan had also turned hostile. Thirdly, Bibi Raji the wife of Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi was a Sayyad princess. Sharqis had long nursed the desire to occupy Delhi. Sultan Mahmud could not launch an attack either on the pretext of safeguarding the rights of his wife or of avenging the wrong done to her father's family. Fourthly, the people in general despised and hated the Afghans. Bahlul would have to prove by his conduct that their prejudice was baseless. Add to this the necessity to have to depend on the Afghans primarily for they themselves were a problem. Their sense of equality, love for independence, special regard for the tribal leader, vanity and lack of discipline could create numerous difficulties and if they were not handled tactfully they themselves could strike at the very roots of the newly founded Afghan Kingdom.

EARLY MEASURES OF BAHLUL :

Bahlul began by appointing Afghan guards for the royal treasury, the stores and the stables. For the defence of the fort he posted the pick of Afghan soldiery and in all the districts and provinces in the neighbourhood of Delhi, he appointed trusted men. This removed all danger from the side of Hamid Khan's followers. A little while after this, he paid a visit to Mewat and the Doab and compelled the local officers to accept his suzerainty. Seven parganas each were detached from the possessions of Ahmed Ali Khan, the Governor of Mewat and Darya Khan, the Governor of Sambhal and were made *Khalsa* i. e., were taken under the direct control of the Sultan. Isa Khan, the Governor of Koel ; Mubarak Khan, the Governor of Sakit ; Raja Pratap who held Kampila, Patiali and Bhogaon and Qutb Khan Afghan the governor of Rapri were confirmed in their posts on accepting the suzerainty of Bahlul. Thus the new Sultan reduced to obedience the entire region from the Punjab to the western frontier of the Sharqi Kingdom.

WAR AGAINST THE SHARQIS (1452-1486 A. D.) :

But he had soon to embroil himself in a war against the Sharqis which dragged on for about thirty five years. Bahlul ultimately got the better of the Sharqis and occupied Jaunpur. But in course of fighting there were numerous occasions when he had to despair even for the security of his capital.

CAUSES OF THE WAR :

There were numerous causes of this long drawn out struggle. Sayyad princesses who were married to Sharqi Sultans would not tolerate the presence of the Lodis in Delhi and they constantly egged on their husbands to invade Delhi territory. The Sharqi rulers, fired with a greed for territorial aggrandisement heartily accepted their exhortation. As opposed to this, Bahlul and his successors regarded themselves as entitled to the dignity of earlier Sultans of Delhi and aspired to bring back within the fold of the Delhi Sultanate. all those regions which had ever formed part of it. As masters of Delhi, they had inherited the imperialistic tradition. Then there was no well-defined boundary between the two kingdoms. This led to border disputes which later assumed the form of a regular war. The governors of eastern districts of the Delhi Kingdom were constantly changing sides. This too led to fighting on a new scale. The military resources of the Sharqis were greater and they commanded a numerical superiority. In spite of this they sometimes suffered a defeat. This touched their pride and they soon started a fresh war to remove the stigma of defeat. When they got the upper hand they got blinded with pride and vanity and tried to blot out the Lodis root and branch. Bahlul was a very clever diplomat. When occasion demanded, he would pose great humility but would lose no opportunity of reconquering his possessions subsequently. Thus there was such deepseated enmity between them that the war could end only with the end of one of the contestants. The military potential of both parties was almost evenly matched so that none could easily liquidate the other. That is why the war between them dragged on for so long.

EVENTS OF THE WAR :

Mahmud Shah Sharqi initiated the struggle by his attack on Etawah in 1452 A. D. Bahlul wanted to conciliate him by an attitude of meekness but he was called away to Multan to suppress a rising there. Mahmud soon pressed forward to Delhi at the head of 1,70,000 troops and 1400 war elephants. Afghans made a desperate attempt to save the capital but it seemed that their defeat was inescapable. In this predicament, they contacted the Sharqi general Darya Khan Lodi and wanted to negotiate a surrender on condition that they should be permitted to retire to the Punjab. Darya Khan, being an Afghan himself, was easily won over and because of his treachery Mahmud Shah suffered a defeat with heavy losses and had to retreat to his capital. This victory considerably added to the strength of Bahlul who secured 50 war elephants, a number of fine horses, 100 mans of gold and a lot of ammunition, as part of the booty.

Mahmud led another attack but on mediation by Raja Pratap and Qutb Khan he agreed to negotiate a peace. It was now agreed that the boundary between the two kingdoms should be the same as under Mubarak Shah Sayyad and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi and as border adjustment Shamsabad held by Juna Khan on behalf of the Sharqis should be handed over to a representative of Bahlul. The latter agreed to restore to the Sharqi ruler seven war elephants captured by him in course of the first encounter.

A fresh war started when Juna Khan refused to surrender Shamsabad and Bahlul tried to evict him by force. Thus in course of the year 1452 fighting flared up thrice. The final upshot was that the Sharqis retained Shamsabad and made Qutb Khan, the cousin and brother-in-law of Bahlul a prisoner.

On the death of Mahmud, Bahlul led the attack once more. Just then Jaunpur was passing through a war of succession. At first Muhammad Shah was elevated to the throne but when he started murdering other princes, Bibi Raji engineered his deposition and replacement by Husain Shah. The latter was married to Bibi Khonza, a daughter of Sultan Alam Shah Sayyad. Bibi Raji, Bibi Khonza and Husain Shah planned repeated invasions against Bahlul.

In course of the civil war, prince Jalal Khan fell into the hands of Bahlul. Husain Shah wanted a respite to mobilise his strength, hence he made peace with Bahlul. A four years' non-aggression pact was signed and Qutb Khan and Jalal Khan were exchanged.

At the end of four years, Bahlul occupied Shamsabad and appointed Raja Karna its governor. But the Rajput and Afghan followers of Bahlul fell out and Vir Singh, the son of Raja Pratap was murdered by the Afghans. This led to the defection of Raja Pratap, Mubariz Khan and Qutb Khan to the side of Husain Shah. But this did not very much weaken Bahlul and the two parties agreed to another non-aggression pact, this time for three years.

Between 1463-1466 A. D. the power of Husain Shah went up by leaps and bounds and the governors of Mewat, Etawah, Koel and Bayana acknowledged his supremacy. Now he led an army against Delhi. But Bahlul was able to save the capital somehow and Husain Shah once more retired to his kingdom. A little later he returned to attack again. Bahlul lost nerve and sought the help of the ruler of Malwa. Finding no response from that quarter, he offered to surrender to Husain Shah the whole of his kingdom except Delhi and its environs within a radius of 18 kos from it. He was also willing to accept his vassalage. But Husain Shah rejected the offer. His soldiers started terrorising the people by making frequent and powerful raids. Bahlul continued to defend the capital but he was at the same time watching the movements of Husain Shah. As soon as his spies brought the news that the camp was practically denuded of soldiers, he led a sudden sortie at the head of 18000 soldiers and started a fierce kill. Husain Shah fled for safety and a huge booty fell into the hands of Bahlul. The principal queen of Husain Shah was among the captives of war but Bahlul sent her back to Jaunpur with due honour and regard.

Upto 1478 Bahlul had been generally on the defensive and even on securing a victory he had been eager to pacify the Sharqis. But since 1478, the situation was completely altered. In that year Alam Shah died and Husain Shah rapidly moved forward to capture Badaun. He next occupied Sambhal and finally laid siege to the capital itself. Bahlul continued a defensive war and Husain Shah was ultimately persuaded to return home, accepting the Ganges as a natural frontier between the two kingdoms. While he was going back, Bahlul made a sudden swoop and captured an immense booty. The army of Husain Shah was completely disheartened and it retreated from town to town so that Bahlul was able to capture Shamsabad, Kampila, Patiali, Koel, Sakit and Jalali.

Husain Shah made a hurried counter-attack but suffered another reverse. With better preparations, he made a fresh attack in 1479-1480 A. D. but only to sustain another defeat. With the assistance of the rulers of Gwalior and Bhata (modern Rewa) he somehow managed to reach Jaunpur but Bahlul was constantly on his heels and driving him into Bihar appointed Barbak Shah as the governor of Jaunpur and Qutb Khan as the governor of Majhauli. In 1486, Husain Shah recaptured Jaunpur but he had to fall back on Bihar once again as soon as reinforcements arrived from Delhi. During the reign of Sikandar, he tried to stage another come-back but in 1494 he was not only chased out of Jaunpur territory but had to evacuate Bihar as well. This put an end to the power of the Sharqis once for all.

Causes of the defeat of the Sharqis :

At the beginning of the Sharqi-Lodi duel, the military and economic resources of thn Sharqis were far greater. In the reign of Husain Shah also the power of the Sharqis was very strong. In spite of this they were finally defeated aad their dynasty came to an end. A number of reasons led to this development. The Sharqis could not rope in the sympathies of Sayyad loyalists because it was not on behalf of the Sayyads but in pursuance of their own dynastic ambitions that they were fighting. Although the war was based on political and dynastic rivalry yet the Sharqis were handicapped by treason in their ranks because of the presence of Darya Khan Lodi and Qutb Khan Afghan among their retainers. Bahlul gave all strategic posts only to the Afghans. He was, therefore, never faced with a like danger. The Sharqis were highly conceited while Bahlul combined outward humility with shrewd diplomacy. Consequently, the Sharqis often threw away the fruits of victory while the Lodis succeeded in turning a defeat into a triumph. The Lodi ruler waged a defensive war in the earlier stages. Consequently, the Sharqis had to fight far away from their base and it was difficult for them to keep communications with the capital intact. The Sharqis were also tactless and failed to do the right thing at the right moment. When disciplined fighting was called for, they frittered away their energy in plundering raids and when making a retreat they could not ensure safety of their supplies. Then again they had to change horses twice in mid-stream while the

Lodis had the advantage of unity of command throughout this period.

OTHER CONQUESTS :

Ahmed Yadgar says that Prince Bayazid conquered Sindh. Gwalior was generally independent but it had to conciliate the Sultan now and then by offering an occasional tribute. In 1487 A. D. Raja Man Singh of Gwalior paid 80 lakhs of tankas to Sultan Bahlul and acknowledged his suzerainty. Bahlul realized tribute also from the Raja of Dholpur and occupied Kalpi where he deputed his grandson Azam Humayum as the governor.

ESTIMATE OF BAHLUL'S CONQUESTS :

When Bahlul ascended the throne of Delhi, the Sultanate was in the last stages of dissolution. He arrested the rot, subjugated the refractory chiefs, annexed a neighbouring kingdom and rounded off his possessions towards the south. He thus breathed a new life into the dry bones of the sultanate which acquired a fresh lease of life.

CHARACTER AND ESTIMATE :

Bahlul was a highly intelligent and practical ruler. He was an excellent judge of men and knew how to exploit them to his maximum advantage. He led a simple life, observed the principles of his faith and showed respect for the *ulema*. Rizqullah Mushtaqi says that he did not neglect to offer the *namaz* at the right hour even on the field of battle. He succeeded in keeping the nobles under his control. His policy towards them was to treat them like equal brethren, to avoid sitting on the throne in their presence and to pay informal visits to their houses where he would freely partake of their meals and share in their weal and woe as one of themselves. If a nobleman got offended he would conciliate him by soft words and placing his turban before him would say that if he considered him unworthy for the office of the Sultan he might offer it to a more suitable person and allot to him any alternative job for after all they were all equal collaborators in the service of the Afghan Empire. This satisfied the disgruntled man and the power of Bahlul continued to increase. He had an innate capacity for leadership. That is why he was able to enforce discipline when necessary although normally he would mix freely with everybody. Bahlul was also free from racial or communal bias and was able to secure for himself the services of men like Raja Karan, Raja Pratap, Raja Vir Singh, Raja Tilokchand and Raja Dhandhu.

DEATH OF BAHLUL (1489 A. D.):

After a reign of over 38 years, Bahlul fell ill while on his way to Delhi and died at Jalali. But he had placed the Afghan Empire on a sound footing before he died.

CORONATION OF SIKANDAR:

Bahlul had nine sons. The eldest son Prince Bayazid, born of Shams Khatun had predeceased his father. In 1487-88 A. D. Bahlul had appointed his son Azam Humayun as the governor of Kalpi and Lakhnau. Among his other sons Barbak Shah was the governor at Jaunpur and was enjoying semi-regal powers. Alam Khan held Kara and Manikpur while Nizam Khan was acting as the Sultan's deputy at Delhi. According to Ferishta, Sultan Bahlul desired that Nizam Khan should be the head of the Afghan empire and should hold the districts of Delhi and Doab while his other sons and grandsons should act as provincial governors. He had accordingly assigned them jagirs proportionate to their merit. But as soon as Bahlul was dead, the Afghans decided to make a free choice of the next Sultan. The names of Nizam Khan, Azam Humayun and Barbak Shah were proposed. But the mother of Nizam advised her son to come immediately. Nizam Khan came to the camp at the head of his troops and he was immediately elected the Sultan with the support of Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli and other nobles. He sent the body of Bahlul to Delhi and himself followed soon after at the head of the army. On July 17, 1489 he was formally crowned at Jalali and he assumed the style of Sikandar Shah.

PROBLEMS BEFORE SIKANDAR :

Before his accession, Nizam Khan had held a number of offices. His first appointment was governorship of Sarhind and during the absence of Bahlul from the capital he had acquired experience of running the central government as his deputy. He had experience of fighting too and he was already 31 years old. Despite all this experience, his task was by no means easy and he had to face numerous problems. He was born of a goldsmith's daughter and Isa Khan had even taken exception to this. He must therefore give evidence by his behaviour and attitude that he was in no way inferior to any orthodox Musalman or a pure Afghan. Secondly, he had to consolidate his power by suppressing all rivals and rebels to his authority. Bahlul had assigned the government of a number of important provinces to members of the royal family. Among them Barbak Shah and Azam Humayun were even tipped for the throne. Nobles like Isa Khan had openly opposed his elevation to the throne. An eye had to be kept on the movements of all such people so that they might have no opportunity for making mischief. Beyond the eastern frontier lay Husain Shah in wait for reconquering his lost possessions. This would require strong vigilance in the Jaunpur region. Towards the south, the rulers of Bayana and Gwalior were semi-independent. Their power had to be curbed. To crown all, he had to reorganise the finances because Bahlul had left the government almost in a state of bankruptcy.

EARLY MEASURES OF SIKANDAR (1489-1492 A. D.):

Sikandar first conciliated his personal followers and supporters. The soldiers were given two to four months' salary as a gratuity while the nobles received fine dresses and high-sounding titles. He then started on a tour of the empire. Alam Khan opposed his progress but he was defeated and sent away as governor of Etawah. His place was taken by Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani. He then marched against Isa Khan Lodi. Isa Khan put up a gallant fight but he too was finally defeated and was brought before the Sultan who was willing to condone his lapses but his injuries proved fatal and he soon died. In his place, Ganesh was appointed as the governor of Shamsabad. Similarly he invited Barbak Shah also to offer fealty. But the latter marched at the head of his troops towards Delhi. Sikandar intercepted him at Kanauj and in the fighting that ensued Barbak Shah was defeated and he fled towards Badaun. He later apologised and was restored at Jaunpur. To keep an eye over him, the Sultan sent some of his trusted nobles to act as Barbak's advisers and assigned a number of districts in the Jaunpur region to his own followers. Similarly, Azam Humayun was replaced by Mahmud Khan Lodi while Sultan Sharf the governor of Bayana was replaced by Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli. Raja Man of Gwalior also was so impressed by the power of the Sultan that he accepted his vassalage. Thus within the brief span of three years Sikandar had put down all malcontents and rivals and had strengthened his southern frontier by annexing Bayana.

CONQUESTS:

(1) *Bihar*.—Sikandar's foreign policy was not

very successful and he was unable to add much to his inheritance although in certain areas he continued the fight for years together. Presumably it is to cover this lack of success that the Afghan historians have remarked that he did not desire extension of territory. His first serious encounter was against Husain Shah Sharqi. With his base in Bihar he was constantly plotting a come-back. His agents were actively engaged in fomenting rebellion. He had won over a number of Hindu chiefs and Rajas to his side, the most prominent among them were the Bachgotis and Raja Bhaidachandra of Bhata and his son Lakshmichandra. He had sent some of his nobles to Chunar and he was in correspondence with Barbak Shah too. The two had probably come to an understanding that they should combine against Sikandar and on the latter's defeat Barbak Shah should succeed him at Delhi while Husain Shah would be restored at Jaunpur. Sikandar was thus faced with a serious crisis. He first defeated Barbak Shah and tried to keep an eye over him although he restored him at Jaunpur but when he failed to suppress the rebellion of Hindus on two successive occasions he deposed him and threw him into prison. He drove a wedge between the Bachgotis and Raja Bhaidachandra and in order to distract and weaken the latter won over his son Shalivahana to his side. He first avoided an open breach with Husain Shah but later gave him a strong fight and inflicting repeated defeats on him finally drove him out of Bihar. With the ruler of Bengal who gave an asylum to Husain Shah he made a treaty according to which both parties agreed to respect the frontiers of each other and to desist from offering any aid to the enemies of the other. After this, he stayed on in Bihar for a while and finally returned to Delhi only after satisfactorily reorganising the government of the annexed territory. Azam Humayun the son of

Khan-i-Jahan was posted at Darweshpur while Darya Khan Nuhani bin Mubarak Khah Nuhani was appointed as the governor of Bihar. Large portions of the territory held by the Rajas of Saran and Tirhut were seized and assigned to Afghans. Thus between 1493-1495 A. D. he destroyed the power of Husain Shah finally and completely and annexed Bihar also to his dominions.

(2) *Madhya Bharat* (1501-1513 *A. D.*),—His next serious encounter was directed against the Raja of Gwalior. Raja Man (1479-1517 A. D.) was a very capable and warlike ruler. During his reign, the fort of Gwalior had been further improved and strengthened. He was by no means eager to pick up a quarrel with Sikandar but he was neither prepared to accept a status of complete subordination. Sikandar thought that the conquest of Gwalior would enhance his prestige and would facilitate subjugation of the rest of Madhya Bharat. He therefore determined to put an end to the independence of Gwalior. He first attacked the Raja of Dholpur, a vassal of Gwalior. He put up a stout resistance lasting for about three years till 1504 and the Sultan had to be satisfied with his mere submission. It was not possible for him to set aside Vinayakdeva and replace him by an Afghan governor. Sikandar started fresh hostilities after some time. He occupied Mandrael in 1505 and appointed Qamaruddin to rule over Dholpur. In 1506-1507 desultory fighting continued in the ravines of the Chambal but that did not weaken the Raja of Gwalior appreciably. Awantgarh (1507) and Narwar (1508) were occupied. In 1512-13 he took advantage of dissensions in Malwa and occupied Chanderi but the Raja of Gwalior could not be brought to his knees. The Sultan thus failed in his main objective.

(3) *Nagor* (1509 *A.D.*)—The Sultan was more

lucky in another quarter. A civil war was going on in Nagor. Fearing intervention by Sikandar, the local ruler Muhammad Khan accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan and introduced his name in the *Khutba* and the *Sikka*. He narrowly missed securing Ranthambhor also in similar circumstances.

REBELLIONS AND CONSPIRACIES :

Unlike Bahlul, Sikandar had to face a number of revolts and conspiracies too. In 1500 Asghar rebelled at Delhi. Just then 22 nobles entered into a conspiracy to depose Sikandar and place Fateh Khan on the throne. The revolt of Asghar was put down but the conspiring nobles could be awarded no punishments at all except that on one excuse or the other they were sent away from the Court. In the following year, the Sultan banished a number of nobles. These might have included the previous year's conspirators as well. All of them entered the service of the Raja of Gwalior. Ahmad Khan the governor at Lakhnau was suspected of apostasy. He was therefore dismissed in 1509. During the wars in Madhya Bharat, Mujahid Khan, Jalal Khan and Sher Khan Nuhani were won over by the enemy and were therefore dismissed. Sometime the Sultan was obliged to revise and modify his orders in order to accommodate the nobles concerned.

RELATIONS WITH THE NOBILITY:

The most serious problem before the Afghans was of internal discipline. Bahlul was able to carry his point by flattery, persuasion or pressure according as the situation demanded. But Sikandar had to be a little more strict. He adopted a number of measures to keep them under control. His general policy was based on firmness tempered with generosity. He multiplied the number of high-sounding titles such as Khan-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Khanan Azam Humayun etc. by conferring them on leading members of the Lodis, Farmulis, Nuhanis and Sarwanis. He played *chaugan* and went-a-hunting in their company and frequently invited them to dinner. He granted them *jagirs* in lieu of salary and if they were found to yield more than the official valuation, he did not revise the grant. But he enforced discipline. He seated himself on the throne in the audience hall. He had made it a rule that when a nobleman was informed about the despatch of a *farman* from the king he should go forward a distance of four to six miles to receive it, should read it out publicly in the presence of the royal messenger and the local officers and should strictly follow it. Shams Khan started a brawl while playing *chaugan* at Sambhal. The Sultan thereupon publicly kicked him. He had the accounts of the nobles strictly audited and realized all arrears with a strong hand, irrespective of personalities. He appointed secret agents who kept him posted with the minutest details about the nobles and for speedy transmission of news appointed fast messengers at postal outposts. The net result of his measures was that the authority of the Sultan over the nobles became more effective and their spirit of insubordination was curbed. Sometimes some nobles got disaffected but on the whole they remained loyal to the state.

REFORMS :

Sikandar took special interest in the administration of justice and the Afghan historians have recorded many stories bearing on his intelligence and love for justice. He himself acted as the judge and always maintained a group of *ulema* for consultation when necessary. He provided speedy and impartial justice and made suitable arrangements for apprehending criminals. Punishments were usually severe but there were jail deliveries a number of times during the year when the Sultan ordered premature releases on good conduct certificates.

He ordered the land to be measured and rent fixed accordingly. But usually there was no actual measurement. He introduced a yard which measured thirty inches and was known as Sikandari Yard. The condition of the peasants during his reign was good.

A serious famine occurred in 1495. The Sultan suspended *Zakat-i-ghalla* for good. This helped rapid movement of corn from other areas and the people did not suffer much. Even after the famine corn-duty was not revived. Consequently prices were generally low and the common man had no difficulty about supplies.

In 1505, there was a serious earthquake and epidemic. The Sultan tried to alleviate popular suffering but his efforts were not attended with much success.

In the interests of peace and security, he used to change his headquarters occasionally and did not confine himself to Delhi alone. He first shifted to Sambhal. Next he went to Bayana and Agra. The situation of Agra impressed him so favourably that he made it his second capital and founded a new town there.

RELIGIOUS POLICY:

Despite his zeal for reform, a number of lacunae had still remained. The system of *jagirs*, hereditary nobility and land settlement for instance left much to be desired. Far more serious than these acts of omission was his policy of religious intolerance. In his own private life, Sikandar was not very orthodox. He shaved the beard, was an addict to wine, loved music and sometimes had lapses even in *namaz* and *roza*. He did not respect the *ulema* and instead of tacing on their advice generally tried to impose his views on them. Inspite of this, the *ulema* did not offer opposition to him and Muslim historians have lavished high praise on him because he persecuted the Hiudus, replaced a number of their temples by mosques and interfered with their religious ceremonies. He condemned a Brahmin named Bodhan to death simply because he said that Islam was a true religion but Hinduism was no worse either. The Hindus were not allowed to shave their heads at their holy places like Mathura. There were restrictions even on ceremonial baths. He tried to disown his Hindu origin by thus persecuting the Hindus. But this was resented by his Hindu subjects because he had exceeded all previous limits as is admitted even by *Tabqat-i-Akbari* and *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

DEATH OF SIKANDAR (1517 A.D.):

According to tradition, Sikandar died as a result of Haji Abdul Wahab's curses. One day the Haji strongly remonstrated with the Sultan in favour of keeping the beard. The Sultan first tried to explain why he could not do it and then kept mum. But when the Haji had left, he remarked that the Haji had become unduly self-opinionated and had forgotten that he was esteemed only because of royal patronage. If he seated one of his own slaves, he added, in the palanquin the nobles would offer him the same respect as they had shown to the Haji. When this was reported to the Haji, he took offence at the manner a descendant of the prophet had been insulted and remarked. "God willing, the throat that had abused would be choked". It is said that Sikandar died of a similar trouble. This gave the people the impression that the curse of Haji Abdul Wahab had been effective.

ESTIMATE OF SIKANDAR:

With all his faults and failings, Sikandar was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Lodi dynasty. He added to the territories inherited from his father, strengthened the power of the sovereign and put down all opposition with a high hand. But he did not possess military talents of a high order. He was unable to defeat the Rajas of Bhata or Gwalior and was not good at sieges. There were occasions when the army suffered heavily either because supplies ran short or because it had lost its way. He tried to conciliate the nobility and the commonality and issued a series of reforms. But his policy of religious persecution and award of *jagirs* proved harmful to the state. His greatness lies only in the fact that though faced with a difficult prospect, he strengthened the power of the Afghans and extended the bounds of the empire.

His personal life was praiseworthy. To the charms of the body he combined excellences of head and heart. He was cultured and urbane, had a taste for literature and was an excellent judge of works of art. He loved the company of poets and literateurs and was something of a poet himself. A treatise on medicine called Tibb-i-Sikandari or Maha-Ayurvedic was compiled from Sanskrit sources at the instance of the Sultan's *Wazir*, Mian Bhua. Afghan historians have mentioned among the courtiers of the Sultan one Mian Tahir who had a versatile genius for arts and crafts. Thus Sikandar improved the cultural content of the Afghan empire and won for it greater regard among the people. His generosity was proverbial and the surest method of winning the Sultan's favour was to imitate this quality. Most of the nobles therefore practised charity on a wide scale. The result was that Muslim monks, widows, destitutes, orphans etc. had no monetary difficulties. In all these respects he reminds us of Sultan Firuz. But he was a better general and a more successful ruler and instead of following the *ulema* as Firuz did, he tried to lead them. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that he holds an honourable place among the Muslim rulers of early medieval India.

ACCESSION OF IBRAHIM LODI:

Just before his death, Sikandar had summoned all the nobles to court. Probably, he was planning an all-out offensive against the ruler of Gwalior. The presence of the nobles facilitated an early choice of the successor. It appears that there was at first a general meeting of the nobles in secret from which princes were excluded. It was decided to divide the empire between Ibrahim and Jalal with Delhi and Jaunpur as their respective capitals. It was felt that this would suit all parties. Both the princes would be satisfied and the danger of a civil war averted. Yet at the same time neither would be strong enough to ride roughshod over the wishes of the nobility. Farishta says that they made this decision because of their dislike of Ibrahim's behaviour and conduct. At the open assembly, nobles proposed partition of the empire. Jalal was to hold Kalpi and Jaunpur while Ibrahim was to be the master of Delhi and Agra. The line of demarcation between them would be the western boundary of the former Sharqi kingdom. Jalal gladly accepted it. Ibrahim did not like it but he too gave his consent for fear that in case of opposition he might be set aside altogether and thrown into prison.

The following day, Jalal and the nobles of the east departed and Ibrahim Lodi was crowned Sultan of his portion of the empire. But when Khan-i-Jahan Nuhani, the governor of Rapri came to offer his congratulations to the Sultan, he strongly condemned the act of partition. Another meeting of the nobles was hurriedly summoned and it was decided to cajole Jalal back to the capital by soft words and on his arrival partition was to be cancelled. But Jalal saw through the plan and declined to come. Ibrahim now sent individual *farmans* to leading nobles of the east warning them not to accept Jalal as their sovereign or else they would be treated as rebels. They were, at the same time, promised confirmation in their posts if they acknowledged the authority of the Sultan. On receipt of these *farmans*, Darya Khan Nuhani, Nasir Khan Nuhani, Shaikhzada Muhammad Farmuli and a number of others accepted the suzerainty of Ibrahim. Jalal now had only Kalpi left to him. In this changed environment Ibrahim was crowned a second time in December 1517 and the Sultan gave *Khilats* and presents to the nobility.

WAR AGAINST JALAL (1518 A. D.):

The supporters of Jalal on the other hand advised him to stick to his sovereign status. He accepted their advice, had himself crowned at Kalpi and assumed the title of Sultan Jalaluddin. In the meantime Ibrahim had sent Azam Humayun Sarwani on an expedition to Gwalior. Jalal who had appointed Azam Humayun's son Fateh Khan as his *Wazir* proceeded to Gwalior to win Azam Humayun over to his side. He flattered his vanity by calling him an uncle and sought his assistance against Ibrahim in the interests of justice. The senior nobles of Sikandar did not like Ibrahim because he treated them like ordinary servants and made them stand in the court with folded arms. Besides, Azam Humayun did not want to fight against his own son. He also calculated that he was likely to receive higher favours from Jalal than from Ibrahim Lodi. He therefore went over to the side of Jalal and the combined forces of both of them marched against Sayeed Khan, the governor of Awadh. Sayeed fell back on Lakhnau and asked for reinforcements. Thus treachery and treason by the nobles led to an open civil war.

Ibrahim proceeded to the east at the head of his army. On hearing of this, Fateh Khan and Azam Humayun deserted Jalal. Ibrahim gave them a free pardon and took them in his service again. Hence Jalal was forced to fall back upon Kalpi. The nobles of the east were also impressed by this development and they all came to wait on the Sultan at Kanauj. Ibrahim now deputed Azam Humayun Lodi, Azam Humayun Sarwani and Nasir Khan Nuhani to capture Jalal. The latter moved away from Kalpi to Agra so that Kalpi fell to the imperialists. Jalal now expressed his willingness to submit to the Sultan on condition of being assigned the fort and district of Kalpi. But Ibrahim did not agree to it. Jalal now fled to Gwalior and when the forces of the Sultan pursued him thither also he fled to Garh Katanga. The Gonds arrested him and sent him to the Sultan who sent him to Hansi and had him murdered on the way. This put an end to the civil war and enhanced the prestige of the Sultan. Former supporters of Jalal admitted their error, apologised for their conduct and agreed to abide by his orders.

CONQUEST OF GWALIOR (1517-1518 A. D.):

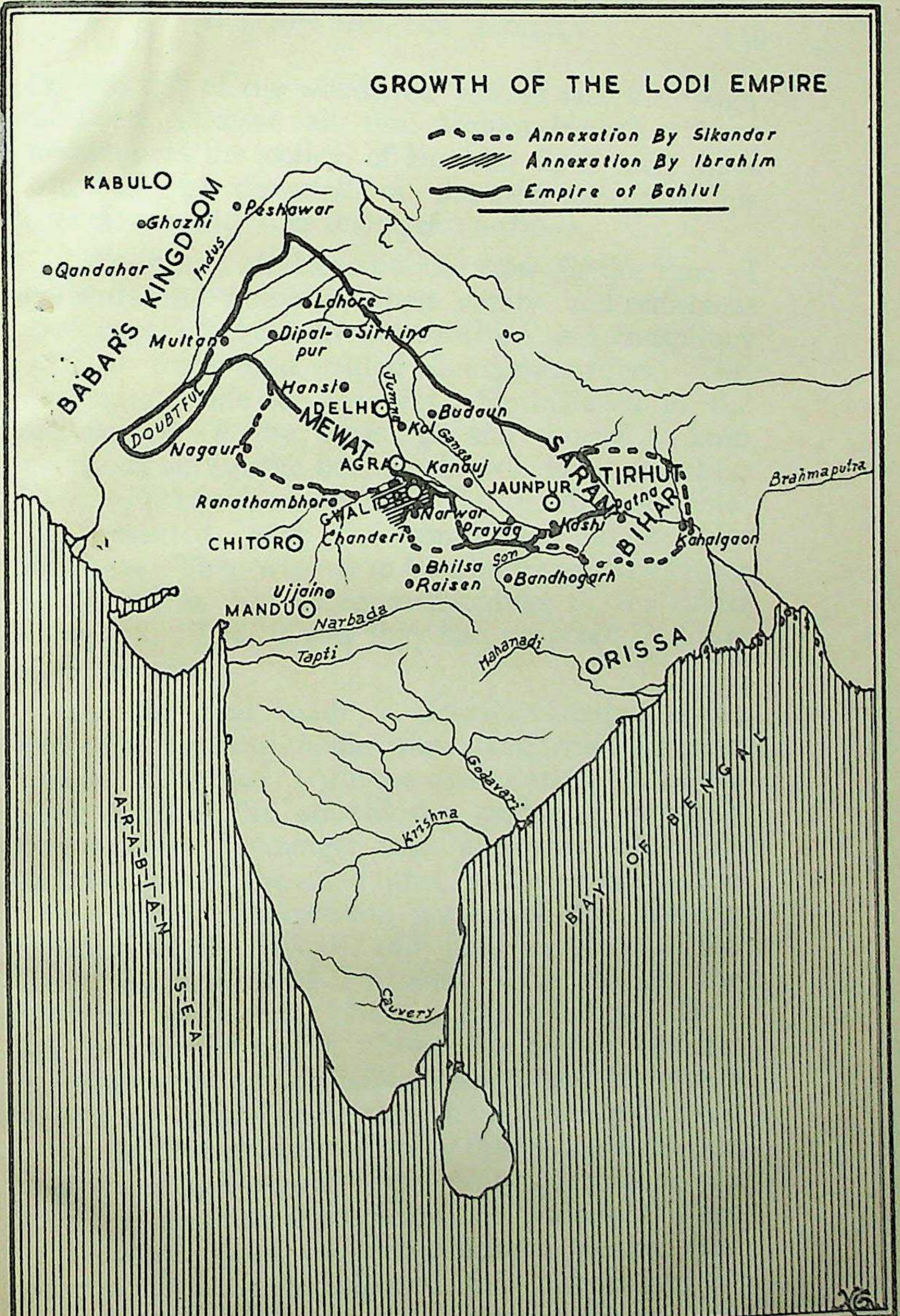
Ibrahim had sent an army against Gwalior immediately after his accession. He wanted to accomplish what his father had left half-done. It was a little delayed because of Jalal's rebellion and the treason of Azam Humayun Sarwani. The death of Raja Man just about this time weakened the enemy. Ibrahim sent Azam Humayun Sarwani a second time to mount the offensive at that advantageous moment. But when he heard of the escape of Jalal, he suspected Azam Humayun of complicity and recalled him. Vikramaditya the successor of Raja Man was soon forced to submit and he surrendered the fort and the kingdom to the Sultan who assigned to him the district of Shamsabad and enrolled him among his followers. This covered the Sultan with fresh glory and whetted his ambitions.

WAR AGAINST RANA SANGA (1517-1518 A. D.):

But he did not secure equal success in another theatre of war. Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar had subjugated practically the whole of Rajputana and had annexed a portion of Malwa as well. Rajput *Khyats* suggest that there was some fighting between the Lodis and the Sisodiyas even in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. After Sikandar's demise, when the kingdom was distracted by a civil war, Rana Sanga attacked Lodi territory and scored a victory in the battle of Khatoli. But he himself got seriously wounded. He, therefore, organised a fresh war. Ibrahim on the other hand had by now annexed Gwalior and got rid of Jalal. He too was keen on settling old scores with the Rana. He sent an army against him under the leadership of a comparatively young general named Mian Makhan. He was accompanied by a number of senior nobles such as Mian Husain Farmuli, Mian Maaruf Farmuli and Khan-i-Khanan Farmuli. This sowed the seeds of dissension among them and internal quarrels reached such a pitch that a number of nobles, led by Mian Husain Farmuli deserted to the Rana. Taking advantage of this, the Rana attacked the Lodi army, inflicted a crushing defeat on it near Dholpur and compelled it to fall back upon Bayana. On hearing of this, the Sultan himself came at the head of another army. This frightened the deserting Afghans who crossed over once again and returned to the service of the Sultan. The battle that took place proved indecisive and both parties retired from the contest. But when a little later, Mian Husain the governor of Chanderi was murdered, the Rana seized the place and Ibrahim was unable to do anything in the matter.

IBRAHIM AND THE NOBILITY:

The main reason for this was that the Sultan in an attempt to strengthen his internal position got so entangled in a struggle against the nobles that he had practically no time for anything else and before



GROWTH OF THE LODI EMPIRE

Annexation By Sikandar
Annexation By Ibrahim
Empire of Bahlul
KABUL
Ghazni
Qandahar
Peshawar
Indus
BABAR'S KINGDOM
Lahore
Multan
Dipalpur
Sirhind
DOUBTFUL
Hansi
DELHI
MEWAT
Jumna
Badaun
Kol
Ganga
Nagaur
AGRA
Kanauj
JAUNPUR
SARAN
TIRHUT
Patna
BIHAR
Brahmaputra
Ranathambhor
GWALIOR
Narwar
Prayag
Kashi
Kahalgaon
CHITOR
Chanderi
Bhilsa
Son
Raisen
Bandhogarh
Ujjain
MANDU
Narbada
Tapti
Mahanadi
ORISSA
Godavari
Krishna
Cauvery
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
VG

he was out of the woods, he had to face a foreign invader. Almost all the Afghan historians have condemned the policy of Ibrahim Lodi and have ascribed the downfall of the Lodi empire to his severity, vanity and revengeful attitude.

We have already noticed how in the time of Sikandar the nobles in their vanity and selfishness had engaged themselves in rebellion and conspiracy and at times had flouted his express orders. This was intolerable for Ibrahim. He believed in the supremacy of the sovereign and wanted to keep everyone within the bounds of law. He used to say, 'Kingship knows no kinship'. But the Afghan nobles had resented even the limitations imposed by Sikandar. They wanted to be treated not as servants of the Sultan but as equal members of the ruling oligarchy. That is why they had proposed partition of the empire.

Ibrahim had made a definite rule that at the time of audience all nobles must stand with their arms folded. Disgusted with the vanity and pride of the older nobility, he started the policy of granting higher posts to younger men and gave them his confidence. At the same time, he started organising a rival group by showering favours on clans like the Banets, Kakars, Niyazis and Surs in place of the Lodis, Nuhanis and Farmulis. This affected the status and self-interest of the older nobility. They therefore turned hostile. When the Sultan got the impression that certain nobles disregarded his orders because of their disaffection, he started punishing them. But his manner of doing things was such that it appeared as if he was persecuting innocent people merely on grounds of suspicion and jealousy. Thus the situation went on deteriorating. Neither the nobles sincerely acknowledged the authority of the Sultan nor the latter ever truly forgave them. This mutual distrust and enmity caused widespread rebellions throughout the realm which Ibrahim could never wholly put down because Babar intervened and put an end to his earthly career.

AZAM HUMAYUN SARWANI:

The first victim of the Sultan's wrath was Azam Humayun Sarwani. The manner in which the latter had gone over to the side of Jalal and had initiated a civil war was sufficient ground for his execution. But Ibrahim forgave him at the time and sent him against Jalal. The prince managed to elude his pursuers both at Kalpi and at Gwalior. This created a suspicion in the mind of Ibrahim that Azam Humayun had connived at it. He, therefore, recalled him from Gwalior to cast him into prison. Friends and followers of Azam Humayun had advised him to declare his independence but Ibrahim had sent adequate troops to capture him by force if necessary. Azam Humayun submitted to royal orders and went to Agra where he informed the Sultan from prison that his son Islam Khan was sure to rebel and it would be expedient to be prepared for it. In spite of all this, Ibrahim showed no mercy to him and he died in prison. The impression created was that he had been murdered by the orders of the Sultan. The fault of Ibrahim was tactlessness. When Azam Humayun had done wrong, he did not punish him and when he decided to punish him he framed no charge against him nor allowed him a chance to defend himself.

MIAN HUSAIN FARMULI:

Similarly, if Mian Husain had been executed for encompassing the defeat of the royal army by desertion to the Rana and for plotting to replace the Sultan by Ghiyasuddin, the punishment would have been well-merited. The Sultan apparently forgave him and offered him the government of Chanderi. But when the Shaikhzadas became disaffected towards him he made use of them to have him murdered.

This added to the discontent against the Sultan and he was looked upon as mean and faithless.

MIAN BHUA:

Another notable instance is that of Mian Bhua. He was the popular *wazir* of Sikandar. But he had grown too old and his eyesight had got impaired. Besides he did not show due regard to the wishes of the Sultan and even flouted his orders. If Ibrahim had been wise and tactful he would have retired him on grounds of old age. But he dismissed him, threw him into prison and appointed his son to take his place. This was utter folly. The old man succumbed to the rigours of jail life and the rumour went round that he too had been murdered.

REVOLT OF ISLAM KHAN:

The nobles retaliated by rebellion. Islam Khan son of Azam Humayun Sarwani led a revolt on hearing of his father's imprisonment. He seized the the treasure of Kara Manikpur and when the Sultan sent Ahmed Khan against him, he defeated him. The Sultan now started raising a larger army. Just then he learnt that Azam Humayun Lodi, Sayeed Khan Lodi and a few other nobles had joined Islam Khan. He sent an army with 12 leaders of the new party of younger men but they were unable to accomplish much. This infuriated the Sultan who sent a *farman* forbidding them to return to court without suppressing the revolt and subjugating the disaffected districts. At the same time, he ordered Ghazi Khan Nuhani, Darya Khan Nuhani and Shaikhzada Farmuli to proceed from the east against the rebels. This attack on two fronts, broke the power of the rebels who were routed. Islam Khan was killed and a number of nobles including Sayeed Khan were captured. Sultan lavished praises and presents on all the victorious nobles.

REBELLION IN THE EAST:

This rebellion exposed the military weakness of the Sultan. It also added to the vanity of the nobles in the east. They began to boast that the defeat of Islam Khan was entirely due to their efforts. Then came the news of successive deaths of Azam Humayun Sarwani, Mian Bhua and Mian Husain Farmuli. This made many older nobles anxious about their own security and they became critical of the policy of the Sultan. The Sultan now started wholesale arrests of all suspects and tortured some of them to death. Darya Khan felt that he might be the next victim. He, therefore, decided to declare his independence. Soon after this he died and was succeeded by his son Bahadur Khan who assumed the style of Muhammad Shah and introduced his name in the *Khutba* and the *Sikka*. The Sultan ordered Nasir Khan Nuhani to march against him but he went over to the enemy. Muhammad Shah now took the offensive against the Sultan. He was joined by all the Afghans in the eastern districts and his authority was acknowledged as far west as Sambhal.

REVOLT OF DAULAT KHAN:

In this contingency, the Sultan summoned Daulat Khan Lodi from the Punjab. But Daulat Khan sent word through his son Dilawar Khan that he was unwell and as soon as he recovered he would come to court with royal dues. This greatly displeased the Sultan. Dilawar was taken round the prison and was told that if Daulat Khan did not answer the summons soon, he would suffer a like fate. Dilawar Khan was horrified at the sight of important nobles being executed, encased in masonry, or undergoing tortures. He fled the court at the first opportunity. On hearing of this, Daulat Khan invited Babar, the ruler of Kabul to invade India and put an end to the tyrannical rule of Ibrahim. Just then in consultation with other nobles he invited Alam Khan, the son of Bahlul, to the Punjab and proclaimed him king under the style of Alauddin. He too was advised to proceed to Kabul to secure Babar's assistance. This happened in 1522-23 A. D.

EARLY LIFE OF BABAR:

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar, the ruler of Kàbul and Qandahar was one of the greatest men of medieval Asia. He was born in 1483 and his father Umar Shaikh Mirza was the ruler of Farghana. Babar's father was a Timurid prince while his mother was a descendant of Changez Khan. From his very boyhood, Babar was very brave, fearless, courageous, self-reliant and ambitious. His father died when Babar was a mere lad of eleven and from 1494 to 1504 A. D. he had to suffer a lot of opposition from the side of his maternal and paternal uncles and his own brothers. He had also to face the famous Uzbeg leader Shaibani Khan. Even then, he never lost his nerve and besides maintaining his hold over Farghana twice occupied Samarqand as well and seated himself on the throne of his great ancestor, Amir Timur. But destiny was driving him towards India. That is why despite his best efforts during 1502-1504 A. D. there appeared no prospect for him in Central Asia. Just then he learnt of the unpopularity of the Arghuns in Kabul. He proceeded to Kabul and captured it in October 1504. From 1504 to 1512, his attention was still riveted chiefly on Samarqand but at the end of 1512, he was convinced that it was beyond his power to establish a permanent hold on Samarqand. He therefore bent all his energies to the task of consolidating and extending his power in Afghanistan.

BABAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA:

Being close to the frontiers of India, he was occasionally attracted towards this land also. He knew that Timur had at one time established his authority over the Punjab. He records in his autobiography, "From the year 910 Hijra (1504 A. D.) when I obtained the principality of Kabul, upto the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of the Begs, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, Begs and Captains, no one dared say a word against the project.

"So in 925 Hijra (1519 A. D.) I left at the head of an army and made a start by taking Bajaur...... From this time to 932 Hijra (1526 A. D.) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindustan. I went there in person, at the head of an army five times in the course of seven or eight years."

This shows that even if he had received no invitation from Daulat Khan or Alam Khan he would have attempted the conquest of India. The then political condition of India only made his task a little easier.

In 1519, he occupied Bajaur and Bhira and as he regarded these regions as his own he issued a strict order to the soldiers to desist from loot or plunder. Just then he sent Mulla Murshid to Ibrahim with the message that as Timur had established his rule over the Punjab, it was desirable that the Lodi monarch should hand it over to Babar. If he did that, Babar promised not to interfere with the rest of his dominions. Daulat Khan did not allow him to proceed beyond Lahore and he was obliged to return to Babar. He therefore decided to wait for a while, strengthen his position in the meantime and then launch an expedition against India. He drove the Arghuns out of Qandahar and thus secured great accession of strength. Having secured the services of Ustad Ali Quli and Mustafa Rumi he improved his artillery also so that it began to vie with that of Persia and Turkey. His great enemy, Shaibani Khan had already been killed in the battle of Merv and the Safawides of Persia had all along been friendly to Babar. He could therefore rest assured about the security of Kabul and Qandahar.

Just then came Dilawar Khan and Alam Khan to invite him to invade India. He secured a detailed information from them about the dissensions among the Afghans. Coming of Alam Khan gave him the pretext for posing as a deliverer of India from the rule of a tyrant and from this prospective Sultan, he could easily secure the offer of the Punjab as a reward for his services. Submission of Daulat Khan would ensure occupation of the Punjab without any serious difficulty. But the star of Babar was more favourable still. He also received an offer from the ruler of Mewar, Rana Sangram Singh to attack the Lodi empire from the east and thus divide its forces. Rana Sanga wanted to annex the eastern half of the Lodi dominions with Babar's assistance. Babar, thus got the impression that it would not be difficult to defeat Ibrahim Lodi. He led an attack on the Punjab in 1524. But the army of Ibrahim had occupied Lahore before his arrival. Babar defeated the Afghans and occupied Lahore and Dipalpur and when Daulat Khan came to meet him he assigned to him the districts of Jalandhar and Sultanpur. Daulat Khan had hoped to be restored at Lahore. When this was not done, he got mightily offended and formed a plan to waylay and murder Babar. But his own son Dilawar Khan turned approver so that Daulat Khan was thrown into prison. Just then Babar had to return to Kabul for the defence of Balkh. He, therefore, retired to Kabul leaving his agents in different parts of the Punjab.

The situation suddenly changed on his return. Ibrahim sent an army for the reconquest of the Punjab. Daulat Khan won over some of them to his side and with their assistance tried to occupy the whole of the Punjab. Alam Khan first fled to Kabul and on returning from there joined hands with Ghazi Khan, the son of Daulat Khan to march upon Delhi. But he was defeated and his followers scattered.

When Babar got this report, he hurriedly raised an army for a fresh invasion of the Punjab. He started from Kabul in November 1525 and waiting for a while for the contingents of Ghazni and Badakhshan to arrive, he entered the Punjab in December 1525. He defeated Daulat Khan and occupied the fort of Malot. He then pressed on Ghazi Khan who fled and ultimately joined Ibrahim. Having consolidated his position in the Punjab, Babar next proceeded towards Delhi. Ibrahim was also coming at the head of his army to give him battle. He had made a treaty with Sultan Muhammad Shah who had promised to help him against Babar. But he did not honour his word. In the skirmishes that took place, the advantage lay with Babar. This induced a number of Afghans like Biban Jalwani to desert to him.

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT :

On reaching Panipat, Babar organised the defence of his troops. His right flank was covered by the town of Panipat while the left was protected by a ditch filled with trees. In front he placed seven hundred carts strung together according to a definite scheme. Between every two carts there were 6 or 7 mantlets behind each of which a matchlockman or archer could stand in safety and yet rain death on the enemy. After a unit of carts, sufficient gap was left for 100 to 200 horsemen to ride forth. This protective line extended from flank to flank and covered the entire front of Babar's army. Gunners and matchlockmen were posted behind the carts while the cavalry troopers were divided into the van, right, left, and centre, the right *tulughma* and the left *tulughma* and the reserve. Babar wanted Ibrahim to start the offensive. The latter knew nothing about the defensive arrangements of the enemy. He, therefore, launched an offensive. But the line of his troops was so extended that there was no room for all of them to participate in the attack. This caused the initial confusion. When they came within range they were hailed with a volley of guns and matchlocks and a shower of arrows. The presence of chained carts checked their advance and they hesitated what to do while the pressure from behind was continuous. This broke their ranks. The Afghans began to get huddled together. The gunners and archers of Babar continued doing havoc in their ranks while the flanking parties on the right and the left turned their flanks and surrounded them on all sides. Superior generalship of Babar enabled his 12000 troops to score a complete victory over an army of one lakh Afghans and the Sultan died fighting on the field of battle. About 20,000 Afghans lost their lives while the rest escaped and fled. Ibrahim died on April 20, 1526. Babar's troops occupied both Delhi and Agra and a new dynasty was founded.

CAUSES OF THE DEFEAT OF IBRAHIM :

The empire which Bahlul and Sikandar had reared up with such labour was rolled up by a single attack of Babar. This was the outcome of Ibrahim's defeat. What were its causes? The tactics of Babar were utterly unknown to Indians and they possessed no arm which could be a match for Babar's artillery. The archers of Babar and specially the *Tulughma* charges by them also contributed to Babar's success. The soldiers of Ibrahim were not satisfied with him. Afghans were a house divided among themselves and Ibrahim was no able general. If his spies had been efficient, he should have surrounded the camp of Babar and cut off supplies instead of making a frontal attack on him. But Ibrahim was utterly innocent of even the existence of some defensive arrangement. He was equally bad as a diplomat. Even in a crisis, he could not rope in the support of Daulat Khan, Muhammad Shah or Rana Sanga so that Babar found practically no difficulty in occupying the Punjab. Fortunately for Babar, his central Asian neighbours caused him no distraction so that he could confidently pursue his plans in India.

CHARACTER OF IBRAHIM :

Ibrahim was the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty. It is not that he had only faults. He had attractive features, loved music, patronised learning and was generous to the poor and the needy. He was not lacking in courage, valour or intelligence either. He had tenacity of purpose and he was indefatigable in the pursuit of his plans. But he had certain defects which encompassed the ruin of the dynasty. He was proud, stubborn and uncharitable and never forgave anyone if once offended. He was determined to strengthen the central government but he did not pay due heed to the sentiments of the Afghan nobility. His nobles also were at fault, but Ibrahim lacked the ability to convert foes into friends or to change or slow down the policy that was causing discontent. Consequently when once disaffection started it went on mounting up and within nine years he succeeded in making almost everybody his enemy. The coming of Babar added to his difficulties. But even before the coming of Babar his policy had led to the loss of Chanderi to the Rana who was planning to occupy even Bayana and Agra. An independent kingdom had been founded in Bihar while the nobles of the Punjab were eager to fly into the arms of an invader. Ibrahim did not maintain efficient spies to keep a watch over the nobility nor was his army properly trained. He could therefore neither control them nor in the event of opposition could he suppress their rebellions. When he was in this dangerous predicament, Babar attacked him. Consequently he failed to defend the kingdom. If the Afghan nobles had been a little less selfish and vain or if the Sultan had been a little more tactful and generous, occupation of India by Babar would not have been so easy. The fault of the Sultan and the nobility combined to shake the empire to its foundations and made the task of the invader easy. This led to the sudden collapse of the first Afghan Empire in India.

Further Readings

1. A. B. Pandey—The First Afghan Empire in India.
2. Tripathi—pp. 78-93.
3. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
4. R. B. Williams—An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century.
5. Beveridge—Memoirs of Babar (English Version).
6. Dorn—A History of the Afghans.

Section 6

EARLY MEDIEVAL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

XIV. Rajput Polity.
XV. Turko-Afghan Political Institutions.
XVI. Early Medieval Society and Culture.

CHAPTER XIV

RAJPUT POLITY

BASES OF SOVEREIGNTY :

During the post-Harshan period, when Rajput ascendancy became almost universal in India, the usual form of government throughout the country was feudal monarchy. But in consonance with ancient Indian traditions, the basis of sovereignty was essentially moral and spiritual. The masses as well as the authors of treatises on polity regarded the ruler as a partial incarnation of Vishnu and they were definitely of the opinion that the coronation ceremonies imparted divinity to his human personality. The natural duty of a ruler is to rule in the interests of the people while the duty of the people is to be loyal and faithful to him. Thus the basis of sovereignty is a sort of contract between the king and the people. It is the representatives of the people who by anointing the king through various ceremonies confer sovereignty on him. But usually it was the eldest son of the last ruler who alone was selected for succession to the throne. This suggests that although sovereignty was essentially based on heredity and primogeniture, acquiescence of the people and religious ceremonies associated with coronation imparted to hereditary succession a moral and spiritual character.

AIMS OF THE GOVERNMENT :

The aim of the government was not confined merely to promotion of peace and prosperity. According to the Hindu ideals, it was the duty of the king to preserve the *Varnashram Dharma*, to promote public morality and to abstain from interference in the spiritual progress of the individual. At the same time, he must suppress all internal and external enemies of the state in order to ensure peace and security so that the people might live a life of joy and contentment. The Rajput ideal of the *Chakravartin* was theoretically intended to establish an all-India empire which should altogether banish from the land internal wars and jealousies. But in practice, it was responsible for whipping up internecine wars to such an extent that mutual warfare became a necessary concomitant of Rajput government. It was mainly due to the fact that Rajput rulers neither uprooted the dynasty of the defeated ruler nor interfered in his internal administration. Consequently, within the empire of the so-called *Chakravartin* there always existed a number of discontented ruling houses who tried to throw off his yoke as soon as opportunity offered itself. Normal relationship between neighbouring rulers was of war of each against all because they all aspired to convert their neighbours into tributary chiefs.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT :

Thus feudalism became an essential feature of Rajput monarchy. The Rajputs are often described as autocratic despots. But their autocracy was confined within definite limits and a ruler could even be deposed in special circumstances. Being under an obligation to rule according to the holy *Shastras* and the *Smritis*, he could not enact or amend laws at will. Each state had a council of ministers in which the crown prince and the chief consort of the ruler had a place *ex-officio*. In certain cases, ministers were selected on a hereditary basis from selected families only which added to their importance so much that the king could not light-heartedly reject their advice. Besides, there were numerous feudal barons quite a number of whom had ties of kinship with the ruling family. In the local and the central government, the barons had special privileges and powers which no ruler could safely disregard. That also circumscribed the autocracy of the sovereign. Then there were village *panchayats* and in certain areas, specially in the south, there were representative institutions also at the district level. These democratic institiutions further curbed the despotism of the ruler. A ruler suffering from a disease incapacitating him for presiding over the government or leading the army to war, or one who was tyrannical and oppressive or who had suffered successive defeats at the hands of the enemy, could be legally deposed. The Rajput king was thus a hereditary leader of a feudal community who could rise to the peaks of divinity or sink to the disgrace of deposition. Consequently, during this period only those persons could continue as rulers who combined bodily health and physical vigour with military efficiency and capacity for leadership and whose private and public conduct even if not ideal was untarnished with low and vulgar vices.

THE LAW OF SUCCESSION :

Rajputs had a definite law of succession. A king was usually succeeded by his eldest son for they followed the principle of primogeniture. If he acquired majority in the life-time of his father, he was formally declared Crown-Prince or heir-apparent to the throne and was called *Yuvaraja*. By virtue of this office, he was also given a place in the council of ministers and thus secured opportunities for acquiring first-hand experience of business of government. As heir-apparent he had certain special privileges and during the absence or illness of the sovereign he conducted the administration either alone or in collaboration with the chief consort, called the *Patta-mahishi*. From his very childhood, due arrangements were made for his education and training. The curriculum for a prince usually comprised literature, history, *Dharma-Shastra*, Ethics and Politics. He was also expected to acquire proficiency in the use of arms, riding, racing, hunting and wrestling. He was assigned a *jagir* for his maintenance from his infancy and as he grew up to adolescence he was allowed an increasing share in the management of his *jagir* and thus developing initiative and leadership. The Crown-Prince was thus carefully trained for his high destiny. But sometimes it so happened that the ruling monarch, either under the influence of a favourite wife or because of extraordinary merits of a younger prince, nominated a prince other than the eldest one as his heir-apparent. In such circumstances dissensions sometimes arose among the barons and a civil war was initiated by the supporters of the eldest son. Sometimes, a prince forcibly seized the throne by parricide either under the influence of personal ambition or because of dissatisfaction against his father's conduct. But such instances were few and far between. If a king died without an heir of his body, the kingdom passed, according to family tradition, to the head of the baronial house, next of kin to the ruling dynasty. Consequently, there was little scope for disputed succession in Rajput Polity.

DUTIES OF THE SOVEREIGN :

Although the powers of the king were limited in theory, they were quite comprehensive in practice. He himself observed the injunctions of the *Dharma-Shastras* and secured obedience to them by the people but he did not force them to accept any particular religion. In this regard, he showed due consideration for the *Smritis* or Codes of Law and their interpretation by his court-pundits. He had the power to issue necessary regulations and subsidiary rules in consonance with these codes. In the absence of any legislative body, the king was the chief repository of the legislative power of the state. He alone could act as the supreme legislator. In relation to the feudal barons, he conferred upon them *jagirs* and made additions and alterations to their fiefs. Their rights and privileges acquired a legal status only by his sanction and recognition. He appointed ministers in his discretion and they held office during his pleasure. He convened their meetings when necessary and sought their advice but he was free to accept or reject it although in practice he did not generally disregard it. The highest civil and military appointments were made by him and he was responsible for their control, transfer, promotion or punishment. In certain cases local officers were appointed on a hereditary basis but their title was formalised by royal sanction. The king was regarded as the master of the entire land in the state and as such he was entitled to grant *jagirs* at will. But custom of the constitution greatly circumscribed this prerogative for most of the nobles were related to the royal family and the *jagirs* once assigned to them usually descended to their heirs without any substantial change. The king could interfere only in exceptional circumstances for otherwise he might have to face concerted opposition by the nobility as a whole. The king was responsible for maintaining law and order in the state and guaranteeing peace and security of the realm. To this end he maintained police and armed forces but his nobles were generally allowed a free hand within their *jagirs*. He established law-courts for bringing law-breakers to book and himself acted as the highest Court of appeal. He laid down the taxes and spent the revenue according to his pleasure. The revenue of the state was often regarded as personal income of the ruler and a large portion of it was spent on the royal household and the court. Most of the rulers patronised arts and letters and made grants of money for their encouragement and enrichment. Education, agriculture, means of communication, trade and industry, public health and hygiene also received some attention but the rulers did not pay much heed to them nor was there any well-considered policy for their promotion and encouragement.

Foreign policy of the state was also controlled by the king but it was not developed scientifically. Instead, the ruler tried to become a *Chakravartin* by waging successful wars of aggression against his neighbours. Rajput diplomacy was confined mainly to organising matrimonial alliances and making war and peace. Interference with the free movement of artists, literateurs, traders etc., was contrary to Rajput ideals. Consequently, they kept moving about from one state to another and received protection and patronage everywhere. It was contrary to rules of chivalry to oppress women, children or cultivators during war. It was the duty of the king to secure observance of these rules of chivalry. It was also a special privilege of the king to recruit and maintain the army and to lead it on the field of battle.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS :

It is impossible for any single individual to attend to such multifarious duties unaided by anybody. A council of ministers was thus a *sine qua non* of Rajput monarchy. The titles of ministers vary from state to state but there are certain offices which are common in all the lists. Composition of the council as here stated is based on a comparison and collation of lists of ministers in different states. The *Crown-Prince* and the *Queen Consort* held a place of special honour in the Council. Next in precedence to them was the Chief Minister who was called *Mahamatya* or *Mahamantrin*. *Mahasandhivigrahika* held the foreign portfolio. Finance and Royal stores were in charge of *Bhandagarik* while the department of Revenue was held by *Mahakshapatalika*. The head of the army was called *Mahasenapati, Mahabaladhyaksha* or *Mahabaladhikrita*. Besides these, the Royal Physician, the Astronomer and the Chief Priest were also represented on the Council. In certain states, the Poet Laureate, Chamberlain, *Mahapratihar*, and Lord Privy Seal were also included among the Council of ministers. The head of the judiciary finds no mention among these lists. But Pt. G. S. Ojha says that he was called *Vinayasthitisthapak*. Some of these, such as the Chief Priest, the Astronomer and the *Vinayasthitisthapak* were generally recruited from among the Brahmins while the rest of the posts were monopolised by Rajput barons. Vaishyas and Shudras generally had no place there. The Council of ministers in its collective capacity advised the king and tried to keep the state orderly and efficient by persuading the ruler to follow a righteous policy while in their individual capacity they controlled and organised the working of departments entrusted to them.

Besides the king and his ministers there were a number of other people who also formed a part of the central structure of the state. These included officers in charge of the Royal Palace and Court ceremonials, heads of minor departments and a large number of clerks and subordinate staff. But we do not possess any detailed or authentic account of their organisation and working.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION :

The whole kingdom was divided into a number of districts or regions. The central region was under the direct command of the monarch. The king himself looked after its administration. The next lower unit of gevernment below the centre was called *Bhukti, Mandal* or *Rashtra*. Their officers were generally called Rajsthaniya (i. e., Viceroys). In the Deccan where the province or the district was called Rashtra, the officer in charge was called *Rashtrapati.* The next lower unit was called *Vishaya* and its officers was called *Vishayapati.* The lowest unit of government was the village which had a village *Panchayat* and a headman who was called *Grampati*, *Pattakila* or *Gramkuta.* The headman received no salary but he was the most influential person in the village and his post commanded great respect among the village folk from whom he exacted tolls and forced labour. Municipal administration of the towns was also modelled on village government.

FEUDAL SYSTEM :

Rest of the kingdom was divided among the barons of the state who were responsible for the internal administration of their charges. Their government generally followed the pattern detailed above. The feudal barons have a most important place in Rajput Polity. Most of them were blood-relations of the king although a few had no such connection. When an independent king was defeated and was forced to become tributary, he too became a sort of a baronial prince. Notable exiles or emigrants from other states were also assigned a *jagir* for their maintenance when they were granted asylum by the king and they too became his barons. Thus every nobleman was not necessarily connected with the royal family by ties of kinship or matrimony.

They were responsible for maintaining law and order within the *jagir* assigned to them. Their title to these *jagirs* was in practice hereditary and they passed from father to son almost as a matter of course. But in case of treason, desertion or undue oppression they were liable to deposition by the king who generally assigned the confiscated *jagir* to some other member of the same house. In exceptional circumstances, he could grant it to others or resume it himself. Thus the *jagirs* were not an absolute fixity and some variation in their area and ownership did occasionally take place. But normally, the barons could not be transferred from one *jagir* to another.

In return for the *jagir*, the baronial lord had a number of obligations. He acknowledged the king as his suzerain and liege lord, paid him a fixed annual tribute, offered presents to him on ceremonial occasions, attended the court and led a fixed quota of troops to war when demanded by the king. They could not assume titles savouring of independence and could neither mint coins nor make war and peace with independent chiefs without authorisation by the suzerain. They thus acted under the supervision and control of the king. But as a body, they could exert pressure on him. They regarded themselves as the custodians of traditional dignity of the ruling family and could go therefore even to the length of deposing a monarch who was tyrannical, depraved or unfit to rule. The nobles exercised a check on the king in another direction also. The king usually had a small body of personal retainers and largely depended on troops supplied by the nobility. This too curbed the autocracy of the king. In the atmosphere that then prevailed it was not possible for the nobles to remain strictly loyal for long. They too had Rajput blood coursing in their veins, their ancestors might have once been independent chiefs and fighting for one's independence was no dis-honourable undertaking. Death on the battlefield was highly prized. The nobles also thus contributed to lack of stability and emergence of new states on the ruins of old ones was a recurring feature.

MILITARY ORGANISATION :

War for the Rajputs was a heroic pastime. A fight to death was the most cherished ambition of each Rajput. Consequently proficiency in the use of arms and military tactics of the day should have been their usual accomplishment. But this did not always happen. A Rajput soldier was generally well-built and possessed skill in wrestling, marksmanship and riding. War being a happy tournament, they had devised such rules of chivalry as might give the fullest scope to exhibition of personal valour and courage. Making a fair fight, granting a ready quarter to those who asked for it, non-pursuit of the retreating enemy, and embracing death in defence of one's honour were thus regarded ideal merits of a Rajput warrior. That is why they failed to attend to intricacies of military strategy and tactics of war. Their generals knew only a hackneyed strategy and therefore could not lead their followers to safety, in the hour of crisis. Their siege-engines were of a crude type and they did not possess the patience to press a vigorous siege for months together. Their army consisted of infantry, cavalry and war-elephants. But the cavalry was neither numerous nor were the majority of horses of a fine breed. In addition to these defects, the army had no sense of patriotism. The soldiers were of a mercenury character who were willing to fight under any good paymaster. These mercenaries could never have that grit and perseverence which is the haul mark of a properly trained standing army. Contingents of troops being supplied by various feudal lords, the army had little cohesion or sense of unity. Military service was practically the monopoly of the Rajputs. Consequently as C. V. Vaidya says ninety per cent. of the people had no opportunity of sharing in the defence of their land and they tamely submitted to the authority of any military usurper. As long as war was confined among Indians, the above tendency helped to limit the theatre of war and wars among neighbouring states did not lead to much bloodshed. But when foreign invaders came here this very tendency facilitated easy establishment of the authority of the Turk, Afghan, Mughal, or the Britisher.

Royal Taxes:

In ancient times, taxes were generally light so that the economic condition of the people was good. But during the rule of the Rajputs, expenditure over the royal household and the court tended to increase while the military budget continued to be inflated because of ceaseless fighting. Naturally therefore the burden on the taxpayer became heavier. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the taxes were very oppressive. But others hold a contrary opinion and assert that though taxes had become heavier but they did not preclude the possibility of a happy life on the part of the people. The traditional rate of land-tax was 1/6 of the produce. Customs and excise was 2% ad valorem. Besides these there were certain other taxes too but they were probably of a regional or sectional character. Some taxes like the *Turushka danda* were earmarked for a special purpose.

Currency:

Taxes could be paid both in cash and kind. The Rajputs had minted a number of gold, silver, and copper coins. Dinar was a gold coin while *Karshapana* and *Kapardika* were either copper or bronze. Dram and tanka were the silver coins. Rajput issues were not good specimens of art and clipping was easily possible so that the coins in vogue were often very crude and odd.

Law and Justice:

Provision for justice has been laid down as one of the principal duties of the state in India. But the Rajputs did not pay adequate attention to it. There is no definite evidence even of the fact whether there was any supreme judge of the realm other than the ruling sovereign. In the *Bhuktis* or *Mandals* there was a *Dandanayak* who seems to have been in charge of justice, police and prisons simultaneously. There is no mention of any other officer who might have been exclusively or principally in charge of justice. It seems that most of the disputes were settled by arbitration through the caste and village *Panchayats*. Sometimes cases were referred to *Dandanayak* or the Raja. But probably no records were maintained. Consequently cases had to be heard *de novo* even in appeal. For apprehending criminals there was special provision for police. Criminal cases were generally tried with the help of jury. Ordeals were also used as aids to determination of crime. Punishments ranged from fines and imprisonment to mutilation, torture and death. Administration of prisons was not satisfactory and they were more like dungeons than normal prison houses.

AN ESTIMATE OF RAJPUT GOVERNMENT:

Rajput government was an amalgam of militarism, feudalism and divine right monarchy. Chief aim of the rulers was acquisition of military glory rather than promotion of public weal. The rulers therefore evoked respect but not affection or gratitude. Civil and military appointments generally went to the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. This made the rest of the people apathetic towards political affairs and they engrossed themselves in duties appropriate to their status in the *Varnashram* system. Many a Rajput ruler distinguished himself as a literateur, author or artist, and was noted for a life of piety and exemplary conduct. But the majority consisted of those who plunged themselves into sensual pleasures during intervals of war, used intoxicants, and squandered away the revenues of the state to satisfy their whims and fancies while public welfare went by default. By abstaining from interference in local administration, they helped to develop among the local population initiative efficiency and self-reliance. It is because of this that the Indian community has been able to safeguard its ancient culture and no foreign invader has ever succeeded in conquering the soul of the people. The Rajputs aided the growth of art and literature, trade and industry and in matters religious, they followed a policy of toleration which afforded an opportunity to everybody to engage in spiritual pursuits suited to one's intelligence and inclination. This checked undue embitterment of social relations. Professor Habib, Muhammad Aziz Ahmad and Qureshi have exaggerated the faults of Rajput political system and have made it appear as if the Indian people were anxiously waiting for the arrival of foreign invaders, looking upon them as their redeemers, and gratefully accepted their yoke on their arrival. But a perusal of the history of 11th to 15th centuries even as preserved in Persian sources shows that their view is entirely mistaken and contrary to facts. As in other lands and communities, some self-seeking individuals certainly co-operated with the foreigners but the people in general never rated them highly. Culturally inferior, they were hated as senseless fanatics whom they hoped to drive out sooner or later. A feeling of good-will and amity between the conqueror and the conquered was very slow in coming and even when it did was mostly superficial and formal. Most of the people did not attach much importance to political changes and they were willing to pay the taxes to any *de facto* ruler. For the rest, they depended on themselves. If the newcomers had not indulged in religious persecution, they might have secured greater co-operation of the people. But in that case the number of Muslims would not have increased so much.

Further Readings

1. C. V. Vaidya—Medieval Hindu India, Vols. I-III.
2. G. S. Ojha—Rajputana ka Itihas (Hindi).
3. G. S. Ojha—Madhyakalin Bharat ki Samskriti (Hindi).

CHAPTER XV

TURKO-AFGHAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

NATURE OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT:

The Turks had no practical knowledge of Indian political institutions before they came and settled down here. Even after their coming to India they had to be busy waging a ceaseless war because Rajput rulers and nobles allowed them no peace while the Hindu chiefs within the Turkish sphere of influence withheld taxes as long as superior military force was not applied. It was impossible in these circumstances to undertake full resposibility for government and to mould it according to their ideals. India was a huge land and even in its decadence its cultural content was too high and virile for the Turks to suppress or to assimilate it. The leaders of Indian society regarded themselves as Aryans i.e., a race superior to any in the world while the customs and manners of the Turks appeared to them so contemptible, low and vulgar that they called them 'mlechchha' or the unclean. Consequently, the only course open to the Turks was to win over some local people to their side, recognise existing practices as valid at least for the time being, retain most of the civil servants in office and establish their direct personal government only at the central and the provincial levels by occupying and strongly garrisoning important forts and towns. The result was that the government established by the Turks was a compromise between Islamic political ideals and institutions on the one hand and the existing Rajput system of government on the other. Consequently, many elements of the Rajput political system with or without changes became a part and parcel of the Turkish administration in India.

MUSLIM POLITICAL IDEALS:

Muslim polity like its Indian counterpart has a theological basis. Muslims believe that the *Quran* contains divine injunctions which are true for all climes and all times. Islamic society and government has been or at least should have been organised on the basis of these very injunctions. As time passed, Quranic injunctions were found to be inadequate to meet all the complexities of life and government. The orthodox then fell upon the sayings and doings of Muhammad, the last prophet of Allah as a supplement to *Quran*. These are collectively called the *Hadis*. Learned theologians of the day—called the *ulema*—have given various rulings on the basis of the *Quran* and the *Hadis* to meet different situations and problems. These have also acquired the force of law. Then there have been great legists such as Abu Hanifa, Shafi, Malik, Hanbal, Abu Yusuf, Marwardi, Imam Ghizali etc., who have won great renown as scholars and thinkers. They have expressed their views on political problems on the basis of their deep and elaborate study of the *Shariat*, Muslim theology and jurisprudence. It is only by combining these various sources that an authoritative account of the Muslim political ideals and ideas can be furnished.

According to the *Quran* the real master and sovereign of the whole universe is Allah. It is therefore incumbent on all to obey Allah. He has sent to all lands through the ages his prophets for the transmission of his message. Among them Muhammad is the last. The behest of Allah is "Obey me, obey the Prophet and all those that are in authority among you." In Islam the obligation of obedience has been so highly rated that the Muslim jurists have gone to the length of saying that even a heterodox government if strong and just is preferable to an orthodox government which is incapable of ensuring law and order. While it is the duty of the governed to obey it is equally the duty of the rulers to discharge their functions efficiently. It is true that to obey the Prophet is to obey Allah but it is obligatory for the Prophet to obey Allah. After the death of Muhammad, government passed into the hands of the Caliphs. For them also it was obligatory to govern in accordance with the Holy Law and with due regard to public welfare. If they failed to do so Allah was bound to punish them. Muslim jurists have expressed the view that if the Imam (political sovereign) did not honour his obligations, it was the duty of the people to depose him. But Muslim rulers failed to evolve any elective representative bodies. Consequently, those who coveted power could acquire it even by force and fraud and secure public acquiescence by the force of arms. In the Muslim world, this was regarded as equivalent to election. The right of interpreting the Holy Law vested in the *ulema* but in the absence of military power behind them, they could not always enforce their point of view. Many of them supported a ruling sovereign in the hope of monetary gain or personal preferment. On principle, just as there is only one God, only one last prophet and only one collection of his revelations similarly the entire Muslim fraternity should have only a single monarch. But when the empire of the Caliphs became very extensive and disintegrating forces began to gain the upper hand, the Muslim jurists developed the theory of governors by usurpation and said that whom the Caliph did not oppose he approved. Thus independent Muslim rulers were also regarded as governors. Similarly they held that only an elective head could be the Imam. But when Caliphate became a hereditary monarchy they evolved a new doctrine of election. Now election by eleven or five or even by a single person enjoying the confidence of the people was regarded as election by the people. This legalised nomination by a ruling sovereign as election by the people. Then there was a custom of including the name of the ruling Caliph or the Sultan in the *khutba* and of offering homage by courtiers. In the absence of any widespread risings against a ruler it was held that acquiescence was tantamount to approval or election by the people. Theoretically again, the revenue of the state belongs to the people and to treat it as the Imam's privy purse is opposed to the holy law. But in practice the Caliphs and the Sultans after them freely spent the accumulated treasures of the state and had no scruples in squandering it over the court or the royal household. Thus Muslim government probably never conformed in practice to its political theory although most of the Sunnis regard the rule of the first four Caliphs as truly Islamic. However, this must be admitted that the Islamic theory always remained as an ideal and it continued to influence the practice more or less throughout its history. The first four Caliphs tried on the one hand to model their government on that of Muhammad while on the other it served as a basis and source of inspiration for the Umayyads and the Abbasids. Later Sultans modelled their governmental machinery on the Abbasid institutions. This applies to the institutions of the Ghaznavids also. And the Ghaznavids influenced the organisation of the Sultanate of Delhi and the administration of local dynasties that rose on its ruins. But during this process of gradual evolution or decadence original ideals always remained in the background and occasionally dominated the policy of certain rulers here and there.

INFLUENCE OF THE CALIPH ON INDIAN RULERS:

The office of the Caliph always commanded respect in India. Most of the Sultans kept up the pretence of regarding the Caliph as the legal sovereign while they themselves were his representative, vicegerent or assistant. Except Qutbuddin Mubarak Khilji there was no other Sultan who did not show some consideration to the name of the Caliph. Most of them included the name of the Caliph in the *khutba* and the *sikka* and adopted titles indicative of their subordination to the Caliph. Thus Iltutmish, Alauddin and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq called themselves *Nasir-i-Amir-ul-mominin* i.e., assistant of the leader of the faithful viz., the Caliph. Another style of Alauddin was *Yamin-ul-Khilafat* i.e., the right hand of the Caliph. Firuz Tughluq and his successors called themselves Khalifa or Naib of the Khalifa.

As against this, three rulers emphasized their own importance. Balban used to say that after the Prophet the most important office was that of the sovereign. That is why he called himself *Zill-i-Allah* i.e., Shadow of God. Muhammad bin Tughluq assumed this style during the early years of his reign and although Balban had retained the name of the Caliph in the *khutba*, Muhammad made no mention of him anywhere. But, despite all this, neither of them had the audacity to call himself the Caliph. This was done by Qutbuddin Mubarak Khilji who called himself *Khalifa-i-rabb-ul-alimin*, *Khalifat-ul-Allah*, and *Amir-ul-mominin*.

But only three persons sought to secure a letter of investiture from the Caliph. The first among them was Iltutmish. He secured it in 1229 A.D. Next. Muhammad bin Tughluq tried to pacify the wrath of Allah by securing investiture from the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. After him Firuz also sought and secured it and listed it among the great triumphs of his reign.

What was the real object of honouring the office of the Caliph? Why did they retain the name of a Caliph in the *khutba* and on the *sikka* between 1258 and 1296 when they had received definite information about his murder? Even when the name and the whereabouts of the Caliph were unknown what advantage could be expected by posing to be his deputy? The only answer to all such queries is blind faith. Muslims in general regarded it as incumbent on the Sultan to show respect to the Caliph and opposition to a Sultan who had been recognized by the Caliph or who called himself his deputy or assistant was regarded as contrary to the Holy Law. The Sultans kept up the pretence of subservience to the Caliph just to exploit this popular sentiment in their favour. But this gave to the Caliph no right to interfere in the affairs of the Sultans nor did he receive any regular tribute or presents. The Sultans dangled him like a Shikhandi but exercised all the rights of sovereignty themselves.

THE LAW OF SUCCESSION:

Among the Turks or the Afghans there was no definite law of succession. According to Islamic ideals essential attributes of a sovereign required that he should be a male adult, suffering from no physical disability, a free-born Muslim having faith in Islam and acquainted with its doctrines, capable of leadership, fit to govern on principles of equity and justice and that he should be elected by the people. Despite their acquaintance with these ideals, the Sultans disregarded in practice practically all the above requirements and following the example of the Rajputs they tried to establish a hereditary monarchy. But because of these ideals their efforts bore no permanent results although they made considerable headway in that direction. Nor is it possible to propound any all-embracing law of succession on the basis of the practice of the Sultans. Raziya was raised to the throne despite her womanhood. Minority proved no bar in case of Kaymurs, Shihabuddin Umar and Mahmud Tughluq. Aibak's authority was recognized even before his manumission and Kaiqubad remained the Sultan as a paralytic. Nasiruddin Khusrau had no special reverence for Islam and yet he was accepted as the Sultan of Delhi. Alauddin Khilji frankly admitted his ignorance of the *Shariat* but nobody dubbed him as unfit to rule on that score. Capacity for leadership was wanting in a majority of the Sultans but at times they were particularly preferred just because of this failing. As far as election was concerned, it had never existed in Islam. At best, support of a few leading men was regarded as tantamount to election by the people. This peculiar type of election was tried in the case of Iltutmish, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq. Usually the last ruling sovereign nominated his successor though at times his wishes were disregarded and government was entrusted to some other person. This leads us to the conclusion that during the sultanate period there was no law of succession as such. Usually the successor was chosen from among the family of the last sovereign but if somebody should usurp authority by force, there was no difficulty in offering homage to him either.

LIMITS TO SULTAN'S AUTHORITY:

Like the Rajput Rajas, Sultans also tried to become autocratic despots and in the foreign and the domestic spheres they enjoyed powers more or less analogous to those of the Rajputs. Likewise, their authority too was not unlimited. The Sultans also had to bow before the Holy Law. In the framing of new rules and regulations their authority was circumscribed and every ruler could not govern the kingdom in complete disregard of the advice of theologians as Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughluq had been able to do. The Sultans never enjoyed willing obedience of the Hindu masses. Hence they had to ensure full support at least by the Muslims. Muslim masses were dominated by the theologians and these latter regarded a policy of religious intolerance as the quintissence of Islam. Consequently the *ulema* were able to influence the policy of all the Sultans to a lesser or a greater degree which meant a brake upon their autocracy. Secondly, the Sultans were not powerful enough to rule the land in complete disregard of the sentiments of the Hindus. This was another serious check to their autocracy. Thirdly, numerical inferiority of the Muslims gave them little or no opportunity to interfere with local government. Fourthly, the powers of the nobility also blunted their authority to some extent. When there was a weak ruler on the throne, the nobles and the *ulema* particularly dominated him while the Hindus began to disregard his authority. Sometimes, a powerful nobleman was appointed a regent who usurped all authority himself and reduced the ruler to the status of a mere puppet. But during the reign of Balban, Alauddin, Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sikandar Lodi or Sher Shah these checks proved ineffective and they ruled more or less as they pleased.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT:

The Sultan dominated the central government. He was the legal head of the state and acted as the chief executive and the court of highest appeal. He was the chief of the armed forces of the realm and made appointments to all the higher civil and military posts. The entire bureaucracy acted under his control and supervision. He was assisted by a number of officials, chief among whom were the following:—

(1) *Deputy Sultan or Naib.*—Appointment to this post was generally made only when a ruler was weak or minor. But sometimes powerful rulers like Alauddin offered this high office to a nobleman as a mark of special favour. The *Naib* enjoyed practically all the powers of the Sultan on his behalf and exercised a general control over the various departments of government. He was generally a capable military leader and a powerful nobleman.

(2) *Wazir.*—He was the head of the finance department and next to the Sultan was the highest dignitary of the state. But if there was a Naib Sultan, he ranked above the *Wazir.* The department of the *Wazir* was called *Diwan-i-Wazarat.* He had a number of powerful assistants, three among whom deserve particular mention—(i) *Naib Wazir*, (ii) *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* and (iii) *Mustaufi-i-Mumalik.* The *Naib Wazir* acted as his chief's deputy. The *Mushrif* maintained a record of the accounts received from the provinces and other departments of the central government. The *Mustaufi* audited this account. Thus while the former was the accountant general the latter was like an auditor general. Some rulers made a slight change in the allocation of their duties and entrusted the account of all revenues to the *Mushrif* and supervision over expenditure to the *Mustaufi.*

(3) *Ariz-i-mumalik.*—He was the chief of military staff and was responsible for the organisation, maintenance and control over the armed forces of the state. His department was called *Diwan-i-Arz.* He was not ex-officio the Commander-in-chief of the forces, for in the time of Alauddin Khilji, Malik Kafur had the Ariz as his subordinate during the Warangal expedition.

(4) *Sadr-us-Sudur.*—He was the head of the ecclesiastical department. He was in charge of public charities and was also responsible for enforcing conformity to Islam. It was he who made grants in cash or land for the construction and maintenance of mosques, tombs,, *khanqahas*, *madarsas* and *maktabs.* Again, it was he who granted maintenance allowances to the learned, the saintly and the orphaned or the disabled. The funds of the department of charities were utilized for the exclusive good of the Muslims alone. It had usually a separate treasury which received all collections from *Zakat.*

(5) *Qazi-ul-Quzat.*—He was the head of the judicial department and usually the posts of the chief Sadr and the chief Qazi were combined in a single person.

(6) *Dabir-i-Khas or Amir-Munshi.*—He was the head of the Records Department which was called *Diwan-i-Insha.* The *farmans* of the Sultan were issued from his department also while all high-level correspondence passed through his hands.

(7) *Barid-i-mumalik.*—He was the head of the Information and Intelligence department. *Dakchaukis* or news outposts were also under his control.

There were other officers besides. But they presided over departments of lesser importance or were connected with the court or the royal household so that they could be treated as personal staff of the sovereign. Under Alauddin and Muhammad bin Tughluq there was an *Amir-i-Kohi* who was in charge of the agriculture department while under Firuz there was a public works department and a department of slaves.

Officers connected with the court and the royal household were principally six—(i) *Vakil-i-dar,* (ii) *Barbak,* (iii) *Amir-i-Hajib,* (iv) *Amir-i-Shikar,* (v) *Amir-i-Majlis* and (vi) *Sar-i-Jandar.*

Vakil-i-dar looked after the royal palace and personal attendants of the sovereign. His post was thus of great importanee and was generally offered only to highly reliable persons. Being so close to the person of the sovereign, he exerted considerable influence over the policy of the state and sometimes became the most powerful person in the realm. Almost equally important was the *Barbak*. Sometimes the posts of *Amir-i-Hajib* and *Barbak* were held by the same person while at other times they were assigned to two distinct persons. *Barbak* looked after the court. It was his duty to maintain the dignity of the court and to assign to nobles a place therein in accordance with their rank and status. He too was in close contact with the sovereign and even the greatest nobles could approach the Sultan only through his medium. That is why capable *Barbaks* at times became more powerful than even the *Wazir*. *Amir-i-Hajib* scrutinised all visitors to the court and presented them before the sovereign according to the court etiquette. *Amir-i-Shikar* organised royal hunts and all those areas where the Sultan used to go a-hunting were under his direct control and authority. *Amir-i-Majlis* made arrangements for assemblies, feasts, and special celebrations. Every Sultan had a number of personal bodyguards or *Jandars*. Their chief was called *Sar-i-Jandar*. In the history of the Sultanate *Sar-i-Jandar* too was able to effect at times a change in the sovereign. This indicates the extent of his influence and importance.

Below these higher dignitaries there was a numerous staff of various grades and ranks which manned the royal *karkhanas*, the royal kitchen, the treasury and the various stables. They included also the secretarial staff working in the various departments of the state. For service in the royal palace there were a number of maid servants and eunuchs. In the administration of the Royal Household, the Queen Consort and the Queen Mother were also given a share. The Queen Consort was generally called *Malika-i-Jahan* while the Queen mother was designated as *Makhduma-i-Jahan* or *Khudawanda-i-Jahan.*

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT:

The whole kingdom was divided into a number of provinces. But the provincial administration under the Sultans was neither strong nor efficient. In the earlier stages, a nobleman was assigned unconquered or semi-conquered territory in *jagir* and he was acknowledged the governor of all the land he could subdue by the force of his arms. But this no longer applied to later times. The ruler himself now undertook the task of conquest and subjugation and he assigned conquered territory to suitable governors. It was he who prescribed the limits of their territory. In the earlier period, transfer of governors was a rare occurrence but in later times this was freely done. Governors were called *Nazim, Naib Sultan* or *Wali. Naib* means a deputy and sometimes it was attached to a variety of offices. We have already referred to Naib Sultan at the centre. He was also called *Naib Mumlikat.* The Wazir was at times called *Naib Diwan-i-Wazarat.* This meant the deputy of the Sultan in the department of finance. Similarly Naib was prefixed to the title of other higher dignitaries also which meant deputy of the Sultan in such and such department. But when the term Naib Sultan or Naib Wazir was used in reference to the provincial administration it signified the deputy of the Sultan or the Wazir in a particular province. Below the provincial governor there was a provincial *Wazir*, a provincial *Ariz* and a provincial *Qazi*. Their functions corresponded to similar dignitaries at the centre.

Like the Sultan at the centre, the provincial governor combined in his hands the powers of maintaining law and order, control over the local army, realization of state dues and provision for justice. The governors of this period often waged wars against the local Hindu chiefs or independent rulers on their own authority. But if the ruler was capable and strong no governor could attack an independent Hindu kingdom without his previous permission. In the event of victory the share of the state in the spoils of war was sent to the Sultan. If the war-booty included elephants, women of the royal household or insignia of royalty, they had all to be sent to the Sultan. Disregard of this was tantamount to rebellion. Ordinarily no provincial governor could maintain elephants or make use of *chhatra* (i. e. royal canopy) and *durbash* (i. e. mace of authority). Nor could he introduce his name in the *khutba* or the *sikka*. Each of these was regarded as a sign of revolt. Similarly adoption of royal titles, withholding of annual tribute, inordinately increasing the strength of the local army or holding assemblies in a right royal style were also regarded as signs of rebellion.

ORGANISATION AND ROLE OF THE NOBILITY :

Administration of the provinces was generally entrusted to members of the royal family or to highly reliable nobles. In those days the institution of slavery was in vogue and being the slave of a ruling sovereign carried no stigma of inferiority. Some of these slaves proved extremely capable and won the confidence and affection of their masters. It was they who generally presided over the central departments and headed provincial administration. These high officials bore the titles of Amir, Malik or Khan. Sometimes they indicated precedence in rank so that the Khan came first, the Malik next and the Amir last in the order of precedence. But this was not always true. Persons appointed to all important offices generally enjoyed the epithet of amir and were collectively known as the Umara which may be taken as a synonym for the *Rajput Samants.* Khan generally indicated a higher status. But Malik and Amir were sometimes used for the highest officers while at other times they designated lower officers. The nobility comprises officers of all these three ranks.

What exactly was the role of the nobility during the middle ages? Could they be taken to constitute a feudal system? How do their powers compare with those of the Rajput *Samants*? It must first of all be noted that the nobles of this period tended to change with every new dynasty and sometimes even with every new ruler. This ensured, on the one hand, constant flow of fresh blood into their ranks but on the other precluded their becoming a close hereditary preserve of a few families. Often enough, with the advent of a new dynasty most of the older nobility were killed or reduced in status so that they lost all importance. Consequently the Muslim nobles during the Sultanate could never acquire the dignity of the Rajput feudal lords. The former were mere creatures of the Sultans while the Rajput barons acquired their dignity from their hereditary status. The Sultans usually found no difficulty in transferring or dismissing a nobleman. But the Rajput barons were permanent hereditary masters of their lands so that their dismissal or transfer was attended with serious complications. The area assigned to a Turkish noble did not become his hereditary property or permanent assignment although he enjoyed considerable autonomy in internal administration because of the peculiar political conditions then prevailing. In this respect therefore he cannot be likened to a feudal baron. But in certain other respects, they were more powerful than the Rajput barons. A capable and powerful Turkish noble could even set aside members of the royal family and occupy the throne. This was a very remote possibility in the case of Rajput barons. The Turkish nobles became unusually powerful either when the ruling sovereign was incompetent, weak or a minor or when they became personal favourites of the Sultan. But during the Sultanate period the nobles were generally divided by mutual jealousies so that their power was subject to sudden rise and fall. The Rajput barons on the contrary had a definite constitutional status and their influence was constant. The Rajput barons could to a certain extent keep the Raja on the right path but the Turkish nobles sometimes behaved as mere personal servants of the Sultans and at others rose to be the arbiters of their destiny. Thus there was considerable difference in the status, dignity and influence of the Rajput barons on the one hand and the Turkish nobles on the other. Turko-Afghan nobility was comparatively more selfish and ambitious and as depicted in the foregoing chapters numerous rebellions, revolutions and ultimate disintegration of the Sultanate were the direct outcome of these defects of their character. It may therefore be safely asserted that the Turko-Afghan nobility instead of imparting strength and stability to the state, generally led and strengthened the forces of disintegration.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Within the province there were lower units of government. In some areas, Rajput barons and Hindu Zamindars held sway. In the administration of these localities the Sultan or his governor had little influence. Only an attempt was made to levy annual tribute from them. Then there were lower Turkish officers. Some of them were called *iqtadars*. They corresponded to officers of the district. There were special officers in charge of fort towns and the adjoining territory. They had essentially military duties. Such military commandants were fairly numerous on the western frontier, along the route of Mongol invaders, and in Mewat, Katehar, Doab and the land of the Khokhers. Most of the towns had a Kotwal and a Qazi while the village administration remained as before.

RELIGIOUS POLICY:

One essential feature of medieval Muslim polity before the reign of Akbar was a policy of religious discrimination although its nature and extent tended to vary from time to time. Under Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi, it reached its climax. Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Sher Shah Sur were comparatively more tolerant and they tried to separate religion from politics, But certain things continued throughout this period. The motto of converting *Dar-ul-harb* (non-Muslim territory) into *Dar-ul-Islam* (Muslim territory) appealed to the fancy of each one of them. All the Sultans gave direct or indirect help in the propagation of Islam. The department of the *Sadr* gave grants and aids to all classes of persons engaged in proselytisation no matter whether they were bigoted *ulema* or comparatively liberal Sufi saints. Muslims enjoyed all the civil and political rights, paid lower taxes and had a virtual monopoly of most of the services. No Hindu was ever appointed the head of a central department or the governor of a province. Among the Hindu officers of Mahmud of Ghazni, Sevakpal was first converted to Islam before he was assigned the Government of Multan. Alauddin assigned Chitor to Maldeva only to cause a rift among the Rajputs. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq Ratan, Bhairon and Dharadhar never went beyond the post of a provincial *wazir*. Under other Sultans, Hindus did not receive even so much consideration and Balban was opposed to giving any high office even to a converted Hindu. In course of wars against Hindu states, every Sultan except the first two Tughluqs made it a point to destroy their temples. Firuz indulged in temple destruction even during times of peace. A number of mosques were built out of the materials and at the sites of Hindu temples and many a sultan not only destroyed Hindu idols but had them even trodden under feet. The Hindus had to pay a special tax called the *jizya*. Customs duties were levied from them at double the rate of the Muslims. They were restrained from building new temples and sometimes even from repairing old ones. For the privilege of pilgrimage, they had to pay a special tax and in Muslim spheres of influence public performance of religious rites was forbidden. Firuz ordered the execution of a Brahmin simply because certain Muslims had felt drawn towards him while Sikandar awarded capital punishment for a mere affirmation that his religion was as true as Islam. The state expenditure on public health, education and charities benefited only the Muslims. Muslims had internal secretarian dissensions also and non-Sunnis also were often the victims of persecution but it was almost negligible in comparison to the disabilities of the Hindus. It may therefore be safely asserted that the Hindus did not enjoy full rights of citizenship. The cause of this discrimination was the theocratic character of Islamic government. The government of the Sultans therefore cannot be described either as national or free from bias.

FOREIGN POLICY:

The Sultans had no separate foreign department but they did try to acquaint themselves with the power and position of their neighbours. Foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi synchronised with the establishment of Mongol domination over central and western Asia. Consequently for about two hundred years, the defence of the north-western frontier always loomed large in the foreign policy of the Sultans of Delhi. Besides this, some of the Sultans of Delhi established contacts with the Sharifs of Mecca, the Emperors of China and the rulers of Egypt and exchanged gifts and delegations. During the dismemberment of Muslim states of central Asia numerous dispossessed rulers and princes and displaced scholars and ministers sought refuge in India. The Sultans of Delhi unmindful of unfriendly repercussions on the Mongols, made provision for the residence and maintenance of all such visitors. Even the descendants of the Caliph whom the Sultans had once regarded as their constitutional head, became pensioners at the court of Delhi. Inside India their foreign policy had only one objective viz., to reduce the neighbouring rulers to the status of vassals or to supersede their dynasty altogether by annexing their entire territory. This could be done both by diplomacy and war. This was a constant feature of their policy because the local Hindu chiefs could never be thoroughly subjugated. It would be worthwhile now to review briefly the Mongol, Rajput and the Deccan policies of the Sultans of Delhi.

RELATIONS WITH THE MONGOLS:

Mongols aspired to dominate the whole of Eurasia. They did not meet with much success in Europe but in Asia their authority extended over wide tracts and lasted for centuries. From the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century their power was pretty strong and during this same period they made repeated attempts to overrun India. The Mongols that came to India in the reign of Iltutmish did so in obedience to Changez though he himself did not accompany them. After his death, the Mongol chiefs of Persia or Central Asia whose authority extended over Afghanistan sought to conquer India as well. The pressure of the Mongols was greatest during the regime of the Ilbaris and the Khiljis. But sometimes Mongol rulers sought to establish diplomatic contacts as well as for instance in the regins of Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Muhammad bin Tughluq. Sometimes they sought to increase their influence by taking into their service dissatisfied deserters from Delhi or by winning over some of the frontier officers to their side. This is illustrated by their treatment of Jalaluddin, Kishlu Khan and Sher Khan Sunqar in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud. When the Mongols were able to annex lower Sindh and the western Punjab they settled Mongol families there. Some Mongol prisoners became converts to Islam to save their life. They settled down in the capital and its neighbourhood. The leaders of Mongol invasions tried to exploit to their advantage these Mongol settlers also. But the Mongols failed in their objective and they could not bring India under their domination.

This was due to the North-Western frontier policy of the Sultans of Delhi. Aibak kept India aloof from the war between the houses of Ghor and Khwarizm and established an independent Turkish government in India. Consequently on the dismemberment of the Ghorian and Khwarizmian empires an attack on India did not become a matter of course. Iltutmish, rising above narrow sectarian considerations, offered no assistance to Jalaluddin Mungbarani against Changez Khan. Changez was so satisfied with this behaviour that he established friendly diplomatic relations with Iltutmish and concentrated all his energy on the liquidation of the Khwarizmian empire. During the reign of the weak successors of Iltutmish, Mongols occupied Sindh and most of the Punjab and began to press forward towards Delhi itself. But just then Balban stepped into the scene. He strengthened the frontier outposts and strongly garrisoned

Uchh, Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore lying to the east of the Ravi and the Chenab. Further east, he established a second line of defence by linking up and strongly garrisoning Sunnam, Samana, Bhatinda and Bhatner. Besides, he constantly maintained a strong and efficient army at the capital. He demonstrated the strength of the Delhi army by a magnificent parade and by actual warfare. He adopted a defensive policy and instead of trying to roll the Mongols back out of India, he concentrated his energy only on checking their further advance. The result of his policy was that the Mongols failed to make a breach in the Ravi-Chenab line of defence and to extend their territory further to the east. This was the first great victory against the military power of the Mongols. To check their advance was itself a great achievement because in future the resources of the Sultans improved while a number of weaknesses crept into the organisation of the Mongols which reduced their power and enabled the Sultans to meet their invasions with greater confidence.

Alauddin Khilji neither underrated the Mongol danger nor was unduly frightened by it. He had replenished the treasury by adding to the Deccan gold the spoils from Arkali Khan and Raja Karna Baghela. He utilized this wealth in organising a strong and numerous army. A section of it was deputed to conquer Rajput states while the other was entrusted with the defence of the frontier. During his reign, the Mongols exerted their utmost to establish their empire in India and instead of wasting their time and energy in loot and plunder, they repeatedly dashed on to the capital. The Indian army not only repeatedly rolled them back but sent to its sovereign thousands of Mongol captives to be tortured to death. After the subjugation of northern India and the death of Daud Alauddin adopted an offensive policy against the

Mongols and Ghazi Malik leading annual expeditions into their territory struck such terror in their hearts that they never invaded India again.

Muhammad bin Tughluq and Taramshirin were friendly allies who helped each other against their mutual enemies. Muhammad bin Tughluq helped Taramshirin against the Ilkhans of Persia and prepared a plan of joint expedition to Khorasan. Similarly during Muhammad's campaign against the rebel Taghi, Mongols offered their assistance to him. After this the power of the Mongols began to decline in central Asia and the Sultanate of Delhi began to break up. Timur acquired a large part of Mongol territory during this period of decadence and then emulating their example he led an invasion into India. But as we have seen earlier, he made no attempt to establish his dominion here.

RAJPUT POLICY :

Another serious problem before the Sultans of Delhi was the subjugation of the Rajputs. The Turks had established their power by dispossessing the Rajputs. Instead of occupying Delhi and Ajmer, Shihabuddin had first left them in the possession of Tomar and Chauhan princes and had only insisted on their accepting his suzerainty. Qutbuddin had also adopted the same policy in relation to the Chandels and the Gahadwals. They had done so because as political realists they knew that they lacked the power to supplant the Rajputs altogether and to establish a purely Turkish government instead. Later on, Alauddin Khilji also adopted the same policy by accepting the rulers of Jalor and Siwana as tributary vassals. But the experiment did not prove a success. The Rajputs did not interpret it as an act of benevolence but of weakness. Consequently Rajput ruling princes or their barons were always on the look out to repudiate the authority of the Turkish Sultan and proclaim their independence the moment there was any evidence of weakness in his position. This led on the one hand to constant rebellion by the Rajputs and on the other to an effort by the Sultans to conserve more and more power and finally to uproot the Rajput ruling dynasties one by one and replace them by their governors. Thus the natural relationship between the Sultans and the Rajput leaders was one of hostility and each thought in terms of only the annihilation of the other rather than of a compromise. In this respect the policy of Alauddin was slightly different because his treatment of Maldeva, Kanhardeva, Ramachandradeva and Vir Ballal III was unusually good. He and the heir-apparent married Rajput princesses and gave them a place of honour in the royal harem. While on his death-bed he nominated the son of a Rajput wife as his successor. After his death, Rajputana once more became independent while during the reign of the Sayyads powerful Hindu revolts began in Doab and Mewat. When the Afghans first founded their kingdom they had to face a violent opposition from the Sharqis and the Turks. Consequently, they were at that time kindly disposed towards the Rajput chiefs and allowed them to retain their possessions on mere nominal recognition of their suzerainty. Babar was persuaded to invade Lodi territory particularly because Rana Sangram Singh the premier Rajput prince promised to collaborate with him. But when he found the Rana unhelpful he fought a decisive battle against him. His son and successor Humayun failed to exploit Rajput goodwill betimes which cost him his throne and empire. It is thus evident that during this period no satisfactory solution was found to put an end to the opposition of the Rajputs which ultimately contributed to the dismemberment of the Sultanate.

DECCAN POLICY :

Having subjugated the north, the Sultans of Delhi turned to the conquest of the Deccan. This was initiated by Alauddin. It was to secure its wealth that he first invaded the Deccan. But when he acquired first hand experience of the wealth and weakness of Deccan chiefs, his greed for gold was whetted all the more. He had spent large sums in his wars against the Rajputs and the Mongols but had failed to secure proportionate results. He therefore desired to increase the strength of his army still further. Probably with this end in view, he sent an army to the Deccan in 1302. But it returned unsuccessful. He then waited for five years and when the pressure of the Mongols began to decrease and the subjugatian of the Rajput states of the north had been virtually completed, he once more turned to the invasion of the Deccan. Kafur overran practically the whole of southern India in course of three expeditions and brought from there a huge booty. Alauddin was highly delighted but he did not commit the mistake of establishing his direct rule over the Deccan although he knew that perpetuation of the former ruling dynasties had imposed on him the strain of suppressing two revolts. He was convinced that it was impossible to rule the Deccan from Delhi. That is why he stuck to his policy of non-annexation. After his death, Qutbuddin Mubarakshah annexed one of the Deccan states in 1318. In a sense, it was a mere repetition of the policy pursued in the north for there also first there was an attempt to retain Hindu Rajas as vassal chiefs but when their rebellions became a recurring feature, their kingdoms were annexed. The same thing was being done in 1318 against Devagiri whose three rulers in succession had risen in revolt against the Sultan of Delhi. On similar grounds the Kakatiyas of Telingana were also dispossessed. The Sultans had now acquired so much territory in the Deccan that it was but natural that they should desire to acquire more. Thus in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, there were further annexations and Anagondi, Dwarsamudra and Madura passed under Muslim control.

But just from this time the evil consequences of annexations in the Deccan began to show themselves. For complete subjugation of this newly acquired territory the Sultan made Devagiri his capital and appointed a large number of ambitious foreign amirs in the Deccan. There was something in the very atmosphere of the Deccan which induced rebellious tendencies in every successful general from the north. This is eminently brought out by the examples of Alauddin Khilji, Malik Kafur, Khusrau Khan, Ulugh Khan, Bahauddin Gurshasp and Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. The Hindus of the Deccan had lost their independence only recently. They had not lost all their leaders. When these latter noticed signs of internal selfish dissensions among the Turks, they busied themselves in preparing the ground for the foundation of their own ruling dynasties. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq could not face this explosive situation so that between 1335 and 1347 the whole of the Deccan became independent under two Hindu and two Muslim rulers. The successors of Muhammad were incapable of retaining their hold even over the north hence they made no further wars in the Deccan.

The Deccan policy of the Sultans had a number of important results. The accumulated treasure of the south was carried to the north which enabled the Sultans to launch upon bold and ambitious plans of conquest, consolidation and patronage of art and letters. Islamic influence in the Deccan increased and as a result of the efforts of the rulers of Madura and Gulbarga Islamic culture found deeper and wider roots in the Deccan. The north and the south now came in closer contact which affected the social and religious life of the people in both the regions.

MILITARY ORGANISATION :

The Sultans spent most of their time either in actual warfare or in planning for it because they had to wage a ceaseless war against internal rebellions and foreign invasions. If they ever found some respite from these, their inordinate ambition goaded them to further conquests. Their life was thus spent in an essentially military atmosphere, and this left its impress on their administration as well. That is why their government has been called a theocratic military despotism.

All competent rulers took a number of measures to keep their army strong and efficient but their efforts did not meet with much success. Cavalry was given the place of pride in their armed forces. They had besides a contingent of war-elephants and a pretty numerous infantry. What was the salary of each category of soldiers? What grades of officers existed above the rank of common soldiers? What were the emoluments and allowances of these military officers? And what was the strength of different grades of soldiers in the reign of different kings? These are all matters about which we have no definite information. What little information is available can furnish only a few details. We know, for instance, of the existence of an *Ariz-i-Mumalik* at the centre and of *Arizes* in the provinces. They looked after the organisation, maintenance, discipline, control and direction of the armed forces. Salaries were sometimes paid in cash but the higher officers were generally assigned *jagirs* in lieu of salary. The state maintained a record of the *huliya* (descriptive roll) of each soldier and his mount in the royal service. The soldier was paid his salary only after periodical musters and comparison with the records.

Branding of horses was instituted but in spite of that the quality of horses was not always satisfactory because it was possible to evade the rules by bribing the persons concerned. The soldiers got adequate salaries for their maintenance in reasonable comfort while in times of war they were allowed, in addition, one fifth of the war-booty. There was no artillery before the coming of Babar although there were catapults which were used for hurling stones. No special attention was paid to regular parades or research in new modes of warfare. Some rulers organised regular hunting parties as a means of keeping the army in a state of fitness. The soldiers were regarded as personal servants of the king, but where the *jagir* system was in vogue, the sense of devotion to the king was considerably blunted. The soldiers were particularly attached to local leaders and therefore in the event of their rebellions they almost always sided with them. The army of the Sultans though superior to that of the Rajputs was no match to foreign armies like those of the Mongols.

TAXATION :

The Sultans had to incur a heavy expenditure over their armies. The court, the royal household and personal attendants of the king also accounted for a substantial portion of the revenues of the state. Then provision had to be made also for the salaries and allowances of central, provincial and local officers. To meet all these expenses the Sultans imposed taxes, broadly divisible into two classes (i) *Zakat* or religious taxes and (ii) *fay* or secular taxes.

(1) *Zakat*.—The religious taxes were collectively known as the *zakat*. This was realized from the Muslims. *Zakat* has been used principally for three different types of imposts or taxes. In the first place, it is a tax on income and property. Secondly, it

applies to land tax payable by Muslims from tithe land, and thirdly it refers to customs and excise.

The tax on property is essentially a voluntary contribution and not a regular tax. It is the duty of every orthodox Musalman to part with a portion of his income to help his less fortunate brethren. The state demands this contribution only to help the subjects in the discharge of a solemn religious obligation. Various rules have been framed to regulate the payment of *zakat* on property. In the first place it is payable only on property which has been in the possession of the owner for a whole year. Secondly, the value of property must be above the *nisab* or the taxable minimum. Jurists have laid down different *nisabs* for different items of wealth. No *zakat* was payable on the necessaries of life. These included the residential house, articles of dress, personal library, cereals for domestic consumption, personal servants and suitable articles of decoration. In order to escape payment some unscrupulous people transferred all their property towards the end of the year to their wife or some other member of the family and got it retransferred to themselves at the beginning of the next year. But this was regarded unworthy and despicable.

Another stipulation was that the merit of paying *zakat* goes only to the person who understands its importance and whose property is unencumbered. Consequently it could not be realized from non-Muslims, minors, slaves or the insane. When realized, *Zakat* amounted to 2½% of the total property.

The tax on trade also generally amounted to 2½% ad valorem. But the tax on horses was fixed at 5%.

In regard to non-kharaji land cultivated by Muslims the rule was that they should pay 10% of the produce if there were natural means of irrigation and 5% if artificial methods had to be devised. This land tax was called *ushra* (i. e. one tenth) and *nim-ushra* (i.e. ½ one tenth). The money realized from these various sources was put into a separate treasury and was used essentially for religious and charitable purposes, through the department of the *Sadr*.

(2) *Jizya.*—The secular taxes included the *jizya*, *khums*, tax on non-Muslim traders, and *kharaj*. Jizya was imposed only on the non-Muslims. According to some jurists idolatrous *kafirs* deserved no quarter within the state. They should be given the choice between conversion to Islam or death. But no Muslim ruler in India tried to act on this principle. Here idolators were also conceded the right to life provided they paid the *jizya*. After the conquest of non-Muslim lands, it was the duty of a Muslim ruler to take under his protection all those who were willing to pay the taxes levied by the state. They were called *Zimmis*. The Muslim government undertook to protect the life, property and places of worship of the *Zimmis* and in return for this realized *jizya* from them. The Arabs held that the *Zimmis* could not be enrolled in the armies of Islam because they could not be expected to offer hearty co-operation in the promotion of Islam. Military duty was thus obligatory only for the Muslim. In return for exemption from military service, he ought to make a money payment. This they called the *jizya*. But the opinions of later jurists suggest that they regarded the *jizya* as a penalty imposed on the non-Muslim for the crime of his religious convictions. Ordinarily he should have been executed on refusal to embrace Islam. Instead, he is subjected to the payment of *jizya* in return for the security of his life, property and places of worship. In India, the classes exempted from its payment included imbeciles, minors, women the destitute, monks and priests. Brahmins too were

granted exemption probably because they were all treated as priests. But Firuz imposed the *jizya* on the Brahmins as well.

Those who paid the *jizya* were divisible into three classes. The rich paid at the rate of 40 tankas per head per annum while the middle classes paid at the rate of 20 and the poor at the rate of 10 tankas.

It seems that it would not have been possible to realize the tax from the whole community. When Firuz imposed it on the Brahmins they went on a hunger-strike and the wealthier citizens of Delhi had to offer to pay the tax on their behalf in order to save their lives. This account suggests that probably *jizya* was demanded only from the Brahmins of Delhi because it could not have been possible for the citizens of Delhi to pay it on behalf of the Brahmins of the entire kingdom. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that *jizya* was realized only from the urban areas where alone the authority of the Sultans had been fully established. An attempt to realize the *jizya* from the rural areas might have led to a general revolt by the people. Still others have suggested that Alauddin Khilji did not realize the *jizya* at all and made good the loss by enhancing the land tax. But contemporary historians make no reference to suspension of the *jizya*. In the absence of definite statistical data it is impossible to indicate the areas from which *jizya* was realized.

(3) *Khums.*—Another important source of the revenue of the state was the tax on mines, treasure troves and share in war booty. This was called the *khums*. Legally speaking, the state was entitled to only one fifth of the war-booty but all Indian rulers except Firuz Tughluq reversed the rates and realized four-fifths for the state and left one-fifth to the soldiers. Similarly the tax on mines and trea-

sure troves also was 1/5 of the wealth secured. It is recorded in the case of Sikandar Lodi that he did not take any share in an unearthed treasure and used to say that the person whom God had granted it must bear the responsibility of how best to utilize it.

(4) *Kharaj*.—Originally the land-tax realized from non-Muslims was called *kharaj*. But later on the convention grew that if a Muslim cultivated *kharaji* land, he must also pay *kharaj*. This was probably done to prevent a sudden crash in the revenues of the state by whole-sale conversions. The *kharaj* generally amounted to a minimum of 1/3 and a maximum of 1/2 of the total produce. Only Ala-uddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughluq had realized from a part of the empire 1/2 of the produce as land tax. All the rest had charged a third of the produce. Prof. Qureshi has expressed the view that the usual rate was 20% while Alauddin increased it to 50%. But he has adduced no strong arguments in his support nor has he explained why in Alauddin's reign even in spite of the state share being raised to 250% of the usual rate there was no general rising while in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq an increase from 20% to 25% led to a general revolt, and the retirement of the farmers into jungles. It is more reasonable therefore to believe that the usual rate was 33% while in exceptional circumstances it might be increased to a maximum of 50%.

In assessing land revenue both the area of the field and the nature of the crop were kept in consideration. But the more usual method was division of crops. Alauddin and Muhammad bin Tughluq took special measures to fix land revenue on the basis of a unit of area but the scheme did not make much headway nor did it have any abiding influence on land-tenures. In the time of Firuz and Sikandar also there is mention of fixing the valuation of *jagirs* on the basis of measurement but this too is recorded that in the time of Sikandar valuation was determined by mere estimate without any reference to actual measurement.

The tax was payable both in cash and in kind. When Alauddin enforced price-control and when Ibrahim found the prices of corn particularly low, the state realized its demand only in kind and issued a special order to that effect. This suggests that payment in cash would have been a fairly common practice.

Before Sher Shah Sur there was probably no attempt made to realize the tax direct from the tenant. In certain parts there were Rajput Rajas and barons who paid a lump sum annually on behalf of all their subjects. In other regions Muslim nobles held *jagirs* or assignments on revenue. They either utilized the total collection towards their salaries or they deducted from the total collection the amount of their salaries and deposited the balance in the state treasury. The rest of the kingdom was under the direct control of the Sultan who appointed salaried officers to collect land revenue. But these too seldom went to the farmers directly. They made a settlement with *Muqaddams*, *Chaudhris* and *Khots* while the latter with the assistance of the village *Patwari* collected the revenue from the tenants. These Hindu middlemen got no regular salary but only a certain percentage on the total collection and were allowed certain local privileges as of unpaid forced labour. During this period the land-tax was fairly heavy and after its payment the tenant found it difficult to make both ends meet. The Sultans held that if the Hindus had an excess of wealth, they would turn rebellious. Hence the safest thing was to impose heavy taxes.

(5) *Other taxes.*—Beside the four taxes detailed above there were certain other taxes as well. Firuz

imposed an irrigation tax of 10% with the concurrence of the *ulema*. This was payable only by the farmers who used canal water for irrigation. Alauddin had imposed a house tax and a grazing tax. Firuz mentions more than a score of minor taxes which he had abolished as contrary to law. Hindu traders paid customs and excise at double the rate of the Muslims. This also brought considerable revenue to the state.

All the revenue of the state was pooled into a central treasury. The *Wazir* made allocation of grants for the various departments on the basis of the total revenue collection. Mushrif, Mustaufi, Nazir and Waqoof assisted in the due utilization of government funds. But the modern method of budgeting was unknown and the Sultan was free to treat the royal treasury virtually as his privy purse.

CHANGES INTRODUCED BY THE AFGHANS :

The system of government as outlined above applies practically to all the Sultans of the early medieval period. But the Afghans introduced certain special changes. During their regime democratic sentiment was stronger. Consequently the Sultan was regarded not as an autocratic despot but as a chief among equals. Ibrahim Lodi, Sher Shah and Islam Shah Sur tried to approximate to the Turkish ideal of kingship but the Afghan nobles never gave up the belief that they were essential partners in sovereignty and that the Sultan owed his elevation only to their support. That is why they freely expressed themselves at the time of selecting a successor and regarded the choice of the sovereign as their inalienable right. Consequently among the Muslim nobility, the Afghans were the most powerful. They had a recognised status and they enjoyed political power on the basis of heredity.

An estimate of Tukro-Afghan institutions :

Whatever might have been the merits or the demerits of the administrative machinery devised by the Turks in India, but this must be said to their credit that they never sacrificed reality on the alter of idealism. Discrimination between Muslim and non-Muslim in matters of state employment, taxation and normal civil liberties was perhaps their worst error. Their government was not even as tolerant as that of the Arabs in Sindh. Consequently, although they won the support of the Muslims they could never conciliate the Hindus. The Muslims also did not necessarily gain by this policy of favouritism. In course of time, it made them vain, indolent, degenerate and depraved. If they had to contend with the Hindus on terms of equality their moral and mental growth would have remained unstinted and their degeneration would not have been so rapid. The Sultans were unable to organise the provincial administration on a sound basis and their control on provinces—particularly the more distant ones—was inadequate which led to rebellions and lack of stability in the central government. Bribery and corruption were not unknown while many government employees were guilty of embezzlement. The Sultans were never able to realize the state dues in full although Alauddin, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Sher Shah Sur did much to mend matters. The Sultans did not pay due attention to public education, improvement in the means of communication, or promotion of agriculture, trade or industry. High encomiums have been paid to a Sultan if he appointed a minister for agriculture, cut a few canals or laid out a few roads. The Sultans generally based their authority on the strength of their army and the support of the Muslims. In relation to the Hindus their policy was negative—to abstain from doing anything which might provoke their revolts. But no attempt was made to conciliate them or to evoke their sense of gratitude. One of the reasons why there was such a rapid change of dynasties during this period was the indifference or active opposition of the Hindus. But in spite of these short-comings it must be conceded that they established their power by bringing under subservience a cultured, proud and warlike race and created conditions suited to the spread of Islamic culture and civilization. They successfully resisted the onslaught of the Mongols and at one time defeated all the Hindu Rajas throughout the length and breadth of India and occupied their strongholds. Their success, therefore, was by no means negligible.

Further Readings

1. Qureshi—Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
2. Tripathi—Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.
3. M. B. Ahmad—Administration of Justice in Medieval India.
4. Parmatma Saran—Provincial Government of the Mughals.

Chapter XVI

EARLY MEDIEVAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Caste-System :

The system of government outlined in the foregoing chapters was based on the superiority of the rulers and the subjection of the governed, rather than a sentiment of equality and democracy. The same sentiment of high and low characterised the social organisation as well. The ancient *rishis* among the Hindus had divided society into *varnas* on the basis of distinctive native tendencies of individuals for a proper division of labour. But in matters of marriage and interdining the whole Aryan community was looked upon as a great brotherhood descended from a common ancestor. But by the beginning of the middle age numerous complexities entered the ancient social system and the sentiment of fraternity in social relations began to be restricted to a narrower and a still narrower group. This new social system was based on the caste. Puranic and inscriptional evidence reveals how the rigours of caste gradually increased. The authors of later *Smritis* tried to regulate the new developments. They adduced scriptural support to grant recognition to the new groups and prescribed what their mutual relations should be. The cumulative effect of all this was that the caste assumed virtually the form that it has now. Occupation now began to be determined by the accident of birth. Within a single *varna*, numerous groups began to form on the basis of differences in diet, religious beliefs, geographical position and distinctive ceremonies. Then there were the *varnasankars*, people of mixed origin who also were assigned a place in the new caste-system. Assimilation of Dravidians, aborigines and foreign invaders also led to creation of new castes. Consequently while formerly Brahmins as a class were designated as *Sharmas* and the only distinction among them was based on the *Gotra*, reference to *Gotra* now practically ceased and they came to be divided into narrow groups of Misra, Shukla, Dikshit, Bhattacharya etc. Then sub-groups began to be formed even within these groups and freedom of marriage and interdining was further restricted. Similarly, groups within groups appeared also among the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, and the Chandalas and here also they affected the freedom of choice of profession, interdining and inter-marriage. In the medieval age *Anuloma* marriage also stopped. The general belief now was that only the members of a caste formed a brotherhood while the members of other castes as the children of a common Father in heaven or the constituent limbs of the *Virat Purusha* might be equal on the spiritual plane but because of the accretion of *prarabdha* and *sanchit Karma* they could not claim equality in the social sphere. Thus sympathy, affection, soliderity and a sense of fraternal community was now confined within a small group called the caste because of distinctive social customs and traditions.

THE CONCEPTION OF HIGH AND LOW AMONG THE MUSLIMS :

Just as the conception of high and low had entered the Hindu social system on the basis of accident of birth, similarly among the Muslims also the idea of a common brotherhood was honoured only in principle while in practice numerous distinctions had arisen on the basis of birth, sect and race. In the early centuries of Islam, Arabs regarded themselves superior to Muslims of non-Arab origin. They monopolised all the higher posts. This won for them a higher status in society as well. Secondly, Prophet Muhammad was also born in Arabia.

The Arabs were proud of this fact too. As citizens of the birthplace of Islam they regarded themselves superior to all those Muslims who had received the light of religion only through their instrumentality. Thus the first distinction arose out of this division among Arabs and non-Arabs. Then even among the Arabs the Quraish to which the Prophet belonged, were considered superior to other Arabs. The descendants of those who came in close contact with the Prophet also acquired greater respectability while the descendants of his daughter Fatima are esteemed the highest among the Muslims. They are called *Sayyads*. Later on in India, as elsewhere, many impostors claimed to be *Sayyads* and it became difficult to ascertain which of the so-called *Sayyads* were really the lineal descendants of the Prophet. The *Sayyads* enjoyed practically the same esteem among the Muslims which the Brahmins did among the Hindus. During the rule of the Abbasids, Persian influence became dominant. Most of the Persians were *Shias*. Their ancient culture was far more glorious than the Arabian culture. Having secured political power, they ran down the Arabs and asserted supremacy of Persians. Similarly, when political power passed into the hands of the Turks, they too looked upon themselves as the most superior race. Thus, with lapse of time, Muslims got divided into Arab, Persian, Turk, Mongol, Pathan and Indo-Muslim racial groups. Sectarian differences further sub-divided these larger racial groups. Hindu converts to Islam included certain classes which did not forget their caste-names, retained some of their characteristic social customs and confined marriage relations within their own group. But all these distinctions were traditional and not based on the *Shariat*. Consequently, differences among Muslims never reached the dimensions of the Hindu caste-system. Almost all the Muslims can share a common *hookah*

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and drink out of the same glass. They can partake meals with everybody and may use common dishes. Further there is no legal restriction on intermarriage among Muslims and Muslims. The teachings of their faith create no social barriers although in practice a sense of superiority and inferiority does colour their mutual relations. That is why Muslims have been more closely knit together and have had a stronger sense of unity than Hindus.

SLAVERY :

Slavery was common in those days. Both Hindus and Muslims had personal slaves. There were markets where slaves could also be purchased like cattle. The Hindu *Smritis* speak of 15 classes of slaves, chief among whom are :—

(1) born of the domestic slave-girl, (2) secured by purchase, (3) obtained as a gift or charity, (4) saved from starvation during famine, (5) insolvent debtor, (6) war-prisoner, (7) a recluse returning to the life of a householder and taking employment with somebody, (8) one who sells himself.

Muslim slaves were mainly of four categories viz. 2, 3, 6 & 8 in the above classification. In the Muslim community if a slave-girl gave birth to a child by her union with the master, she and her child acquired the status of free men, she became a wife of the master and her child became entitled to a share in his property like any other offspring. Both the communities prescribed that slaves should be treated well. In Hindu society they lived like members of the family and at the time of ceremonial and festive occasions they were generously treated. Muhammad has also enjoined kindness to slaves and says that they should be given the same food and dress as is used by the master. In both the communities, a slave had no right to do anything without the permission of his master. He could neither go anywhere nor receive guests. Nor could he arrange marriages either of himself or of his dependants. Whatever riches he acquired were regarded as property of the master and when he died, the master inherited all his wealth. Under certain conditions manumission from slavery was possible in both the communities. But these conditions were not identical. A slave was supposed to have earned his freedom if he had saved the life of his master. If the master got pleased with his conduct or behaviour he could grant him manumission at will. An insolvent debtor could secure freedom by paying off the debt. The process of manumission among the Hindus was that the master took a water pitcher off the head of the slave and having dashed it to pieces repeated thrice to the accompaniment of sprinkling rice over him, 'Thou art no longer a slave now'. After this ceremony, he was taken to be free. The practice among the Muslims was to grant a written letter of manumission.

Slave-dealers were on the look out to procure handsome and intelligent boys and girls whom they gave a good education and imparted training in music, dancing, painting and the use of arms. They made them so polished and urbane that they could easily win the hearts of their masters. Such slaves fetched a high price during their youth and their owners made huge profits.

Comparatively speaking, position of Muslim slaves was better. Among them it was a matter of pride to be the slave of a great man. In Indian society slavery could in no context be a matter of pride. Among Muslims slaves of a king or a nobleman were looked upon as his followers. Many among them having the advantage of a high education and comely appearance quickly won the confidence and affection of their masters and rose to the highest posts in their service. Among the followers of Shihabuddin, Tajuddin Yaldoz, Nasiruddin Qubacha and Qutbuddin Aibak had regal authority and after his death, they founded independent kingdoms in their respective spheres. Iltutmish and Ghiyasuddin Balban had also risen to royal dignity from the ranks of slaves. Many persons like Nasiruddin Khusrau, Malik Kafur and Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul began their career as petty officers but because of their personal merit soon rose to the highest posts in the state and lived in great style and magnificence. It is recorded about Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul that his harem had such a fine collection of the beauties of different lands that even the harems of the most voluptuous Sultans of the day could hardly be found to contain such choice beauties in such large numbers. In Hindu society a freeman always commanded higher respect than a slave while among the Muslims there have been many slaves who not only commanded more respect than freemen but who had a number of freemen serving under them. As remarked elsewhere, the peculiar slave-system of the Turks was also one of the causes of their success in India.

STATUS OF WOMEN :

As compared to ancient India, the position of women in medieval India became worse. Nonetheless they were accorded an honourable place in society. In a Hindu family she was regarded as the mistress of the house and no religious ceremony could be performed without her association. The *Smritis* say that where women are respected there gods abide. There was provision for their education and the period has produced a number of highly learned women. The wife of Mandan Misra is said to have defeated Shankaracharya in a philosophical discussion. Awantisundari, the wife of Rajshekhar had prepared a lexicon containing words used in Prakrit and she had given her own compositions to illustrate the usage of words.

Hemachandra has also quoted from her writings. Mirabai was a devotee of a high order and has left behind a collection of songs, vibrant with sentiments of personal devotion to Krishna. Contemporary saints flocked round her to hear her talk. Music, dancing and painting were particularly cultivated by women of this period and many of them acquired great proficiency in these arts.

Inferiority of women to men is signified by a number of things. In royal and baronial families, polygamy was the rule so that the woman was regarded merely as a means of sensual satisfaction. Then again the co-wives were often jealous of one another and there were occasions when they had to compromise their self-respect. After the coming of the Turks, the size of the harems began to increase and the social status of the women became lower still. A maid-servant often succeeded in captivating the heart of her master by her personal charms. This too affected the position of her former mistress. The ladies that had been collected together merely to satisfy the lower appetites of man had to give evidence of their chastity and devotion by burning themselves alive on the funeral pyre of their common dead husband! Widows had no right to remarry and they were expected to live like *sanyasins*. The system of *purdah* became more prevalent and child-marriage inevitably followed it. There were families where the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune and a matter for condolence while the birth of a son was celebrated on a grand scale. In some areas polyandry was also in vogue and it is said this caused no domestic unhappiness. Ibn Batuta says that in Malabar the property of the deceased was inherited not by a son but by a sister's son. But such communities were few and limited in numbers. In the non-*dwija* Hindu families women had almost a status of parity. They were free from *purdah* and could contract love marriage. Divorce and widow-remarriage was also in vogue among them.

In Muslim society the status of women was lower still. There even the lowest classes were polygamous. Then there were numerous instances of maid-servants rising to the status of legal wives as a result of illicit connection with the master. This brought a free wife and a slave-girl practically on the same level. The mother of Sher Shah though a free-born Afghan was unable to command even as much respect as her co-wife, formerly a slave-girl. Among the muslim nobles lust and debauchery were common vices and the maintenance of concubines instead of being a matter of shame was regarded as an index of one's riches. Qutbuddin Mubarak Khilji and Kaiqubad carried licentiousness and buffoonery to such a limit that even the degenerate courtiers of the day felt shocked. *Purdah* among the Muslims was far more rigorous. Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi further restricted the freedom of women. Firuz says in his autobiography that he had banned the visit of women to holy shrines because evil-minded persons also frequented them and waylaid the female visitors. Within the limits detailed above, a Muslim woman had certain advantages over her Hindu counterpart. She could remarry after widowhood, she was under no obligation to perform *sati* and she had a larger share in the property of her parents. In special circumstances, she could even divorce her husband.

Despite all this, domestic life was on the whole happy and husband and wife usually had mutual affection, regard and goodwill for each other. Even among the Muslim noble families divorce and widow-remarriage were rare occurrences and because of relative chastity of women family traditions were preserved and there was stability and deace in society.

GENERAL TENOR OF LIFE :

Because of Buddhist, Jain and Vaishnavite influence most of the Hindu families were vegetarians. Violence to animals was condemned. But in course of time, the warrior class developed a taste for non-vegetarian dishes. The Shudras also were often non-vegetarians. In certain parts of India fish is very common and most of the people there were fish-eaters. The influence of *Tantriks* and *Shaktas* also induced a weakness for non-vegetarian meals. Cooking was an art which was assiduously cultivated and at the time of feasts, festivals or the visit of guests delicious dishes of a great variety were prepared. Milk and milk-products formed an important element in a healthy diet. Some people among the Hindus fed upon carcasses and all types of birds and beasts. But the rest of the community regarded them as unclean and obliged them to live outside villages and towns. The use of wine and other intoxicants was formerly limited but with fall in standards of morality and good conduct, consumption of these articles also increased. Gradually, use of wine and opium became very common among the highest classes.

Hindus and Muslims alike were remarkable for their hospitality. Muslim families were predominantly non-vegetarian. Only a few Sufis and families under their influence were vegetarians. A combination of Iranian and Indian dishes greatly added to the number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian delicacies that a Muslim nobleman could offer at the time of feasts.

Houses were tastefully decorated but the choice of articles of decoration was comparatively limited in the case of a Musalman. Everyone had a weakness for ornaments and a large variety of them with or without precious stones and made of different metals were prepared which were used for decorating practically every inch of the body from the banded curls and forehead to the toes and fingers of the feet. They punctured their ears and noses at a number of places for facility in the use of ornaments and there was hardly any part of the body which did not have an appropriate ornament for it. Idols of goddesses executed during this period, are overlaid with jewellery.

Clothing consisted of cottons, silks and woollens, made into a variety of garments. The higher classes among the Muslims and Kshatriyas used highly precious clothes, bright in colour and embroidered with gold and silver in delicate designs. The dress of a commoner was as simple as his diet. But, within his means, he too loved colour and style. In the Muslim-dominated areas, economic condition of the Hindus was comparatively bad and some Sultans tried to reduce them to a position of grinding poverty. But such treatment was far from usual.

There was a variety of amusements too. Before the advent of the Turks and in areas free from their domination, Holi, Vasantotsava, Dipawali, Rakshabandhan and other festivals were celebrated with great gusto and joy. In regions held by the Turks, there was, at times, some interference in such celebrations. Dance, drama and music were also a source of entertainment. Sometimes exhibitions were also organised. Then there were the amusements of dicing, hunting, wrestling and witnessing animal fights. The higher classes monopolised most of these amusements but the lower classes also, in spite of their economic disabilities, devised their own entertainments. They drank cheap wines and engaged in folk dances while a number of them practised wrestling and fencing. Some of them were adepts in the display of physical feats and gave demonstrations of their skill.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS :

During the medieval age India was a rich and prosperous land. In spite of constant fighting, the farmers and traders had suffered little inconvenience during the pre-Turkish period because of the liberal policy of the Rajputs. This led to increasing prosperity in the land. Trade and industry was in a flourishing state and foreign traders coming by land and sea poured into the country year after year quantities of gold, silver and precious stones in order to secure in exchange spices, cloth and ivory goods. The wealth of the country is evidenced by elaborate ornaments and construction of fine temples. Descriptions of hospitality and celebrations of feasts as preserved in contemporary literature are also indicative of the wealth of the land. Foreign travellers have also left behind an account of economic prosperity of the Indian people. An idea of the wealth of the higher classes can also be formed from the accounts of booty captured by Mahmud of Ghazni, Shihab-uddin of Ghor and Amir Timur. During the rule of the Turks, most of the wealth was spent in India so that it did not seriously affect the prosperity of the land. They too generally did not interfere with the normal routine of people. Consequently agricultre and industry continued to make progress during this period also. In the time of Firuz and Ibrahim Lodi foodgrains were cheap and plentiful. The Sultans started a number of factories where numerous articles were manufactured. They spent freely also in the patronage of art and letters. In the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq many foreigners secured large sums of money in charity and gifts while in the Deccan a large number of foreign amirs amassed huge wealth in the service of

Bahmani and successor kingdoms. All this shows that ordinarily speaking the econmic condition of the land was good and trade and industry also continued to prosper. Mahmud and Timur who took special delight in massacring Hindus did not kill local artisans and craftsmen. Instead, they carried them as prisoners to their own land and utilized their services in adding to the wealth and magnificence of their empires. But there was a huge difference in the income of the higher and the lower classes. There were millions of people who lived like cattle, fed on anything that came their way and went about naked or clothed in tatters. It was from among these poorer classes that many converts to Islam were secured. They had fondly hoped to improve their lot by change of faith but they were soon disillusioned to find that their position remained practically the same.

RELIGION :

Just as in the social and political spheres, medieval India witnessed a scene of degeneration, struggle and reconstruction, similarly in the religious sphere too a like drama was enacted. Before the advent of Muslims into India, the Indian people were divided into numerous Hindu, Buddhist and Jain sects whose religious beliefs, ceremonial rituals, mode of worship etc., differed considerably from one another. Jain influence was now confined mostly to Rajputana and western India. Even during this period they produced a number of learned metaphysicians and scholastics who wrote commentaries on Jain scriptures and strengthened its metaphysical aspect by learned arguments. Though this preserved Jainism from decay but these authors could not affect the religious history of India during this period as much as the Shaiva, Vaishnava or Mahayani thinkers did.

MAHAYANISM :

Even in the time of Harsha, Mahayanism had gained an ascendancy over Hinayanism. Mahayanists produced a large number of great scholars and thinkers. They laid emphasis on *bhakti* instead of on *nirvana*. They recognized Buddha as the supreme reality. But if one entitled to Buddhahood entered *nirvana* to attain Buddhahood none would remain to lead the people of the world on the path of piety. They supplied this want by introducing the conception of *Bodhisattvas*. They recommended the worship of *Bodhisattvas* and laid down the necessary ritual and procedure. In this very connection, they spoke of *Sukhavati*, the home of *Amitabha* where ideal Buddhists, adorned with *bhakti* and pursuing the path prescribed by the *guru* secure admission by the grace of the eternal Lord *Amitabha* and enjoy unique bliss and happiness.

SHAIVISM :

The Mahayanists preponderated in western India and the *madhyadesha*. But they had to face a constant tussle with Brahmanical scholars and philosophers and it was gradually undermining their strength and popularity. The Shaivas took the lion's share in this struggle. There were numerous sects among the Shaivas such as *Pashupatas*, *Kapalikas*. *Vir Shaivas*, *Shiva Siddhantas*, *Lingayatas* etc. Shaivism is a very ancient faith and even the excavations in the Indus Valley have furnished evidence of the worship of Lord *Pashupati*, armed with a trident. It is thus proved to be older than the Vedic religion and it seems that when the Aryans admitted Dravidians into their social system, Shiva entered the fold of Vedic gods and was identified with the Vedic god Rudra. In course of time Shaivism became an all-India faith and by the creation of different sects it was able to cater to the needs of every class of men from jungle tribes on the one hand to highly philosophical thinkers on the other. Some of the Shaivas touched the highest flights of knowledge in the exposition of subtle metaphysical problems. Others, in imitation of Vajrayanists, developed the doctrines of *Vamamarga* and popularised practices which on the spiritual plane were expected to bring *siddhis* and even immortality but whose outward form often appeared vulgar and obscene. On the eve of the coming of the Muslims, *Vajrayani* Buddhists and Shaiva *Kapalikas* dominated eastern India from Bihar to Assam and Kalinga. Many unscrupulous people adopted these practices as a means of satisfying their baser appetites. This led to great corruption and immorality.

MONISM OF SHANKAR :

Among the Shaiva philosophers pursuing the path of knowledge, Shankaracharya has won the greatest renown. No medieval religious reformer ever attained the success which Shankar in his short life was able to obtain in undermining the influence of the Buddhists, in rehabilitating the dignity of the Vedas and the Brahmins, in preventing lawlessness and in preaching the doctrines of his faith among large masses of his countrymen. He has established such an abiding hold on the philosophical thought of the land that thousands of learned treatises have been composed in support or refutation of his doctrines. Even today his ideas form the basis of considerable study, research and debate among modern scholars.

Shankar was born in the year 788 in a Nambudri Brahmin family of village Kaladi on the Malabar coast and he died in 820 at the age of 32. In the study of Hindu scriptures, Shankar had a marvellous success and while still in his teens he finished his study and started his career as an author. He wanted to propound on the basis of Hindu scriptures a single irrefutable faith which might put an end to diversity in faith and bring all the Hindus on a common platform. With this object in view, he wrote commentaries on the *Brahmasutras*, *Bhagwadgita*, and a few selected *Upanishads*. These are collectively known as the *Sthantrayi*. Among the works of Shankar, the commentary on *Brahmasutras* far excels the others. In his commentaries, Shankar refuted the doctrines of the leading sects of the day and established the doctrine of monism. He then went about preaching throughout the length and breadth of the country and by vanquishing the hostile scholars of different centres of learning secured unchallenged pre-eminence in the land. He then established in the four corners of India—at Badrikashram in the north, at Sringeri in the south, at Puri in the east and at Dwarka in the west—four monasteries from where his *sanyasin* followers were to preach the doctrines of his faith.

It is said about the commentaries of Shankar in general and about the commentary on the *Brahmasutras* in particular that instead of faithfully bringing out the views of the original author, he has tried to read his own views into it. Thus we cannot assign to Shankar a high place as a mere commentator though it may be readily admitted that the exposition of another man's views to support one's own was possible only because he was an extraordinary genius, gifted with an unusually sharp intelligence.

According to Shankar the only true reality was *Brahma*. Although reality was one, an illusion of multiplicity was created because the basic *avidya* had been eternally operating with *Brahma* in the background. This he calls *Maya*. Because of its influence, the universe that is illusory on the metaphysical plane appears real on the plane of the senses. There is no difference between the human soul and *Brahma* because they were both pure consciousness and the relation between them is not of the container and the contained or a whole and a part but of complete identity. The association of *avidya* or impure matter with pure consciousness induces in *jiva* a feeling of distinctness from Brahma. It was therefore necessary that he should attain to *Brahma* by getting over the sheath of *avidya*. This was the goal of life. When this is attained, there shall remain not even the faintest recollection of impurity, ignorance, action or suffering. Instead, one would realize pure *sachchidananda*, a state of utter felicity devoid of any activity or movement.

Only the *Guru* can show the path which can lead to the overcoming of *avidya*. Shankar calls him *Ishwar*. In him there is a combination of pure consciousness with pure matter. Thus, though distinct from Brahma, He is free from the accretion of ignorance. He alone can show the path of knowledge or illumination. The worship of this Ishwar thus becomes the first step to realization of Brahma. Identifying Ishwar with Shiva, Shankar popularised the worship of Shiva. This could easily be practised even by the masses while his conception of *Brahma*, maya and monism captured the imagination of the intellectuals.

The doctrines of Shankar can be traced to the *Karika* of *Mandukyopanishada* by Gaudapada and numerous scholars beginning with Padmapad and Sureshwar Acharya have contributed hundreds of learned treatises but it is the work of Shankar alone which has lent special weight to the doctrines of *Advaita Vedanta*. Shankaran doctrines have had such potency that they have survived hectic attacks by Ramanuja, Madhwa, Kashmir Shaivas and others. It has been suggested, that if Shankar had given free expression to his views without binding himself to ancient scriptures, he would have occupied a very high place among the philosophers of the world.

VAISHNAVISM :

Buddhism did not long survive the attacks of Shankar. The latter had appealed to the learned and the masses alike by combining the highly intellectual doctrine of monism with devotion to *Ishwar*. But there was a class of thinkers that found the doctrines of Shankar arid and insipid. They wanted to propound the doctrine of *bhakti* on the basis of the *Sthantrayi* itself. For centuries, *bhakti* had been recognized as a means of securing deliverance. The Vaishnava *Alwars* in the South had been preaching the doctrines of *bhakti* since the early centuries of the Christian era. Contemporaneous with them or even earlier, the Shaiva *Adyars* had also adopted the doctrine of *bhakti*. In the *Bhagwadgita* too greatest emphasis has been laid on detached action and devotion to God and we find Krishna repeating time and again that for him who surrendered himself to the Lord and was sincerely devoted, salvation was assured. Thus there had been an uninterrupted stream of *bhakti*. But when Shankar founded his doctrine of Advaita on the *Bhagwadgita* and the Upanishads itself, it became difficult for average scholars to refute his doctrines and hold on to *bhakti*. And yet they had a natural inclination towards *bhakti* rather than towards monistic intellectualism.

(*i*) *The Four Schools.*—Vaishnava Acharyas lent philosophical support to this temper of mind. There are four important schools of the Vaishnavas. They hold that *Narayana* had four direct disciples. They became the founders of the four original schools of Vaishnavism. They are as follows :—

(1) *Sri Sampradaya.*—Its doctrines are said to have been originally taught by *Sri* one of the direct dis-

ciples of *Narayana*. These were popularised by Ramanuja. Philosophically, it supports the doctrine of qualified monism or *Vishishtadvaita*.

(2) *Brahma Sampradaya.*—Its original founder was *Brahma* another direct disciple of *Narayana*. Its doctrines were popularised by Madhwa. It believes in duality or *Dvaita*. The followers of Chaitanya though closer to Nimbarka on the plane of ideas have been placed under this group and are called *Madhwagaudiya*.

(3) *Rudra Sampradaya.*—They are in the line of *Narayana's* third disciple *Rudra*. Its doctrines were preached first by Vishnuswami and then by Vallabha. They believe in pure monism or *Shuddhadvaita*.

(4) *Sanakadi Sampradaya.*—Its original founders were *Sanaka-Sanandan*, the fourth direct disciple of *Narayana*. It was popularised by Nimbarka. It believes in *Dvaitadvaita* doctrines.

(*ii*) *Ramanuja.*—All the Vaishnavas have refuted Shankar's conception of *maya* and have rejected the illusoriness of the universe and the complete identity of *Brahma* with *jiva*. Ramanuja asserts that he too believes in *advaita* but not in *advaita* without attributes. He says that the unity of *Brahma* is not affected by His attributes. His attributes are *sat* or *achit* (i. e. *prakriti*) and *chit* (i. e. *purusha*). *Brahma* is thus *chidachidavishishta*. *Brahma* and his two attributes *purusha* and *prakriti* are all eternal. But *Brahma* is the container while *purusha* and *prakriti* are the contained. *Purusha* and *Prakriti* among them also have the same relationship, the *purusha* being the container and the *prakriti* being the contained. These attributes were originally subtle and unembodied but at the time of creation they become gross and embodied. Ramanuja describes *prakriti* or *achit* as *maya*.

At the time of original creation, *Brahma* is in the centre while individual souls separate from it as parts from the whole and encircle it. They in their turn are encircled by *maya*. At that time *jiva* has for a while *Brahma's* freedom of will. Some of them by virtue of this quality, turn towards *Brahma* and face to face with it they simultaneoulsy realize both the self and *Brahma*. They are the eternally delivered beings and they are eternal devotees of the Divine. *Bhakti* brings them bliss while self-realization brings them consciousness. They are thus in the *chidananda* state (i. e. a state of consciousness and bliss). But they have no idea of *sat* or *maya*.

Just then those who turned towards *maya* were attracted by its endless diversity and plunged into it. They became the bound souls. When as a result of the influence of the teachings of a *Guru*, they develop a distaste for sensual pleasures, the shackles of *maya* begin to loosen. Those who pursue the path of knowledge secure deliverance from *maya* and attain the state of *kaivalya*. But those who are able to associate *bhakti* or *prapatti* (self-surrender) with knoledge secure on obtaining deliverance from the shackles of *maya*, a consciousness of their own self and simultaneusly with it an entry into the *Vaikuntha* of *Bhagwan Narayana*. There they secure the privileges of proximity and service to *Narayana*. Then after a time there is a second initiation by *Narayana* which leads to the realization of *Sachchidananda*. This according to Ramanuja is the highest attainment. *Karma* or action, according to him being associated with *prakriti* leads to eternal bondage. Thus the path of *Karma* could never lead to salvation. The path of knowledge could, at best, secure *Kaivalya-hood* while *bhakti* led to admission into *vaikuntha* and the realization of *Sachchidananda*. Thus he tried to represent Shankar's path of knowledge as incomplete and inferior while devotion to the Lord was shown to be superior and blissful. This made the doctrine of *bhakti* more attractive and popular. Ramanuja threw open the path of salvation to all but *bhakti* being based on scriptural knowledge was open only to the *dvijas* (i. e. the higher castes) while for others he prescribed the path of *prapatti* or self-surrender. *Prapatti* requires strong faith in the grace of the *guru* and the Lord. It is by the grace of the Lord that salvation is ultimately secured.

(*iii*) *Madhwa.*—Like Ramanuja Madhwa too was a devotee of *Lakshmi-Narayana.* But he regarded the *jiva* absolutely different and distinct from *Narayana* or *Brahma.* He further held that the greatest obstacle in the path of salvation was the belief in the identity of *Brahma* and *jiva.* He was a staunch dualist. He has given a very learned exposition of his views. While conceding the possibility of securing a higher or lower status in accordance with one's *Karma,* he regards complete salvation an extremely difficult achievement. According to him, the first step towards salvation is lack of attachment for everything other than God. The next step is to seek a right sort of *guru.* After initiation, one must have such strength of mind that no adverse circumstances should be able to affect the warmth of his devotion to God. He should now engage in the worship of God with the same warmth of devotion. As a result of this, he would ultimately have a vision of the Lord which would bring salvation.

(*iv*) *Nimbarka.*—Some Vaishnavas, holding the human form of the Divine to be his highest manifestation have recommended the worship of a human God. Among such manifestations of the deity the two principal ones are *Krishna* and *Rama.* Among the devotees of Krishna, in this period, Nimbarka, Chaitanya and Vallabha acquired the greatest fame. Chaitanya has explained the superiority of God in the human form thus : He says that ultimate reality is monistic. If we look upon it from the standpoint of a *jnani* (the follower of the path of knowledge) we may call it *Brahma.* In spite of the presence of innumerable powers, they would appear dormant and inactive so that *Brahma* would appear formless. But if the *jnani* with emphasis on the body looks upon it from the standpoint of *yoga* he would find that while some powers are dormant others are active. He would also be able to discern a luminous form. This is *Paramatma*. When *jnan* and *yoga* ripen into *bhakti*, the same reality would be seen to possess all its powers in a fully active form and it would bear a gross form. This is *Bhagwan*.

The Krishna of Goloka residing in Gokula and Brindaban with a concrete human body is called by him *Bhagwan Incarnate*. While *Paramatma* possesses 55 *kalas* (elements of perfection) and *Bhagwan* 60. Krishna, the *Bhagwan Incarnate*, has all the 64 *kalas* requisite for a perfect perfection.

If the *jiva* acquires just as much consciousness as the binding influence of *maya* over him, he attains to Brahma and deliverance from *maya* after his death. But if he acquires more consciousness than the binding force of *maya* and does not lose sight of the body he gradually espies a light in the region of the heart which condenses into a divine human form. This is the vision of *Paramatma*.

If one could continue *sadhana* even after this, the various apertures in the heart would close down though after a time a new aperture would be formed. Coming out of that aperture the divine figure within will assume a concrete form without and allow the devotee a vision of the same. All round the face there would be an aureate light. This is the view of *Bhagwan*. Still later, the light merges in the form and it assumes a normal human form. That is the form of the *Incarnate Bhagwan*. Now it would appear that it was after one's own image. The *sadhaka* would now notice himself as the devotee dallying with God.

Chaitanya, Vallabha and Nimbarka insist on the worship of this supreme manifestation. Chaitanya popularised *kirtan* i. e. fervent repetition of the Lord's name under the stress of *bhakti*. At the height of emotion, he sometimes fell down unconscious. Some people say he had begun to suffer from epilepsy because of highly strung nerves. But his followers do not accept it as true. They regard him as the epitome of *Radhabhava*. Some *Krishnaite* Vaishnava poets have distorted and debased *Radhabhava* so much that in a number of Vaishnava communities it has led to blatant adultery and corruption. But in reality there was nothing sordid or obscene about Krishna's love for Radha or vice-versa. When Radha and Krishna joined in song and dance called *ras* they were too young to be sexually attracted. This then is nothing but the product of a depraved mentality. In fact, Radha is called the *kaya* or the body of Krishna i. e., in Radha devotion for Krishna had reached such a pitch of perfection that she alone could be the gross vehicle or *kaya* of Krishna *tattva*. That is why Radha is also called the *adha* or half. Krishna as the soul is one half while Radha as the body is the other half. It is only in this dual form that the Incarnate deity attains its perfection. Radha is the ideal for devotees. The *sadhaka's* devotion for Krishna should be as intense and sincere as that of Radha so that Krishna may treat him as his body and manifesting himself in it might grant perfection to it through the association of soul with the body.

The Vallabha school is called *Pustimarga* because Vallabhacharya said that only those who are strengthened by the grace of God could enter the path of *bhakti* and make progress therein. He laid stress also on the worship of the Lord's idol. Later on the rituals attending this worship became extremely complex and considerably debased. Among the disciples of Vallabha were 8 poets collectively known as the *Ashtachhap*. Their compositions lent great help in popularising Krishnaite Vaishnavism. Another evil that crept into this sect later was due to the distorted interpretation of offering everything to the Lord.

(*v*) *Ramananda.*—Rama was the other human manifestation of *Narayana*. Among his devotees, disregard of rules of morality and social traditions is hard to find. Rama with his consort Sita has been represented as *Maryada Purushottam* i. e. an ideally perfect man. Sita is the Divine mother and she is a legally married wife of Rama. Consequently, there is no scope here for obscene or low esoteric poetry. The seeds of Ramaite Vaishnavism are traced to Ramanuja. But the real founder of the sect was Ramananda who spent most of his time at Varanasi and whose followers later on included Tulsidas the most celebrated poet of Hindi and an ideal devotee. Ramananda further relaxed the rigours of caste. He initiated non-*dwijas* also and one of his principal disciples was Kabirdas who belonged to the class of Muslim weavers of Varanasi. But it would be incorrect to suppose that Ramananda rejected caste altogether for among the four categories of *avadhutas* (monks of a special type), one was reserved exclusively for the Brahmins. Another, though indirect, proof of this is the doubt entertained by Kabir about his being acceptable as a disciple. Then again, Tulsidas, while recommending kindness and affection for the lower castes, has nowhere rejected the caste.

(*vi*) *Influence of Vaishnavism.*—Vaishnavism was very popular in medieval times. Its followers made a remarkable contribution to the growth of Sanskrit and regional languages. By composing sweet devotional songs, they permeated all classes of society with ideas of devotion to Rama and Krishna, Some of them relaxed the rigours of caste, while the followers of Chaitanya and Vallabha included even Muslims. Bypassing the complexities of Karmic ritual and the subtleties of *jnan*, they provided to the common man an easy method of securing spiritual advancement by mere nobility of emotions, purity of devotion and sincerity of heart. That is why it was widely acclaimed during medieval times. Some scholars are of opinion that with the establishment of Muslim dominion in India there was an atmosphere of despair among the masses. In such a context *bhakti* and *prapatti* have a natural attraction for man. The popularity of Vaishnavism, therefore according to them was also the outcome of this particular social environment. Its influence, as indicated above, was sometimes unwholesome too and in certain areas and communities it led to considerable corruption and immorality which has done a permanent disservice to society.

KABIR AND NANAK :

The religious reformers mentioned above were all well-versed in the Hindu *shastras*. They recognized the need of reform in the then prevailing social order but they did not take the revolutionary step of scrapping the existing social system altogether and replacing it by a totally new order. They were reformers and not revolutionaries. But there were some medieval saints who wanted to revolutionise the existing social order and social values root and branch. Among the saints of this group, Kabir has attracted the greatest notice.

Nothing is definitely known about parentage of Kabir. Tradition holds that he was born of a Brahmin widow, who had abandoned the child to hide her shame. Niru, a local weaver noticed the new-born babe and as he had no children of his own both he and his wife gladly adopted him as their own son. This very Brahmin child, brought up hy a Muslim, later became a zealous advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity on the social and metaphysical planes. An analytical examination of the views and mode of preaching adopted by Kabir suggests that he had borrowed from many sources. Kabir is taken to be a saint of the *Nirguna Pantha*. That he was indebted to the Hindus for his views on *Brahma* and *maya* is amply proved by the utterances attributed to him. But he has mixed up with it the *hathyoga* of *Vajrayanis* and *Gorakhpanthis*. In imitation of the *yogis* and *siddhas* of these two sects he too has indulged in boastful assertions about his knowledge of the ultimate reality. This was to act as a cover for his utter ignorance of the scriptures. He has tried to establish his superiority over the *pundits* and the *mullahs* by hurling abuses and passing unilateral strictures on them. He was indebted to the *Sufis* also from whom he learnt much cf mysticism. From the teachings of his *guru* Ramananda, he incorporated the elements of non-violence, morality, *bhakti* and *prapatti*. Thus he fixed upon certain spiritual concepts on the basis of meditation over what he had heard from others and what he acquired by his own *sadhana* and personal experiences. This formed the crux of his techings. His utterances have been grouped together as *Ramainis*, Sakhis and *Sabads* and they are collectively called the *Bijak*.

The views of Kabir are not very systematic or well reasoned out for he was no learned philosopher. On the contrary, there are even contradictory statements. But his attacks are sharp and telling. Although his diction is not urbane or polished, the turns of phrases coined by him are saved from drabness by his high genius. Some of them are indeed marvellous and truly mystical. Some of his statements are couched in paradoxes whose correct meaning is difficult to unravel.

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The supreme reality, according to Kabir, is one although it has been called by different names such as *Sahab*, *Allah*, *Khuda*, *Rama*, *Rahim* or *Brahma*. Wisdom consists in getting at the basic unity underlying the multiplicity of names. The ultimate reality is formless and yet the master of this unverse. His consort *maya* has distracted everybody. A loving devotion to Him will bring deliverance from *maya* by his Grace. Thus by the fusion of the formless with the form a basis for *bhakti* has been devised. The *bhakti* or devotion should be emotional and unalloyed. The repetition of His name need not be done with the help of an objective rosary but it should be an internal and intermittent affair. The search for the Divine should be conducted not outside but inside one's own self. Consequently, worshipping a stone idol or shouting in the mosque is meaningless. Ritualism, pilgrimage to holy places and *hajj* are all useless. What is needed is the purity of emotion, fear of the Lord, moral conduct, and an attitude of fraternal affection for all and not violence and bloodshed in the name of religion. In the search for the Divine within oneself he has recognized the value of exercises prescribed by *hathyoga*. He rejects the spiritual significance of dance and music as practised by the Sufis and recommends instead listening to the *nad* or music within. He has thus tried to bring out the fundamental unity of Islam and Hinduism. He dubs the Brahmins and the Mullahs as ignorant, credulous, vain, and misguided and exhorts them to accept the Truth. Kabir attaches no importance to caste. Nor does he attach any merit to scriptural learning. A number of people felt strongly drawn towards him so that many Hindus and Musalmans became his followers. His views have influenced later generations as well. But because a majority of the *Kabirpanthis* were drawn from the uneducated people of the lower castes, the Panth has failed to secure that prestige which the coming of the higher castes would have given it.

Just like Kabir, Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, also preached devotion to God without attributes and he initiated into his faith, people of all castes and creeds without any distinction whatsoever of Hindu and Musalman or high and low. But there is an essential difference between Kabir and Nanak. Though Nanak also uses Persian and Arabic expressions, it is the Hindu *shastras* that form the basis of his doctrines and he refers to the current social evils in a far milder language. His temper is characterised by humility and not by vanity. That is why his views have found equal accceptance at the hands of the higher castes as well. The religion founded by Nanak checked conversion of the Punjab Hindus to the Muslim faith and later it led to the foundation of a strong and virile community which has won for itself a place of pride in the national history of India.

The reformers mentioned above are only of a representative character. They do not exhaust the list for besides them numerous other saints and reformers also flourished during this period in different parts of the land. But they too generally acted on similar lines. Jnaneshwar, Eknath, Namadeva, Tukaram and other saints of the South rejected the barriers of caste and preached the doctrine of *Bhakti* to all and sundry. The people of Rajputana and Gujerat were greatly influenced by Mirabai. Ravidas, Malukdas, Chandidas and Vidyapati also fall within this period.

ISLAM IN INDIA :

In the religious history of medieval India, Islam also has made a contribution. Just a few years after the foundation of Islam, its doctrines were brought to India through the medium of Arab traders. Indian Buddhists and Shaivas had considerably influenced the people of Persia and Arabia. There is evidence of this influence in the tenets of Islam. Inspite of this, it has a uniqueness of its own. The people of India, therefore, welcomed this new faith and even before the foundation of Muslim dominion in India endowed mosques for the convenience of Muslim preachers. The *Quran* at one place rejects the efficacy of force in securing converts. The people of India, thus were then unfamiliar with that aspect of Islam which showed itself after the foundation of Muslim rule in India.

A number of Muslim saints and preachers came to India in the wake of the Arab conquest of Sindh. But they did not have much influence on the local people. After the annexation of the Punjab to the Ghaznavid empire the number of such saints coming to India considerably increased and they settled down at different places in northern India. After the establishment of Turkish government in India, these saints started receiving state patronage and oppressed by the discriminatory policy of the state, a number of poor low-caste Hindus embraced Islam to lighten the burden of taxes. But all the Shudras and the untouchables did not accept the new faith. They looked upon it as a great sin to change their faith for improving their social status or their economic condition. They, therefore, regarded the converts as unworthy and tried to better their condition while still within the Hindu fold. Certain habits of the Muslims appeared so dirty and vulgar to the Hindus that their religious leaders banished from their fold anybody who had any social contacts with them. They had now no option but to embrace Islam. Hindu prisoners of war had to live on the meals provided by the Muslims. Consequently, when they returned to their people they could no longer be accepted as members of the family. They too therefore turned Muslims. Sometimes a whole village was excommunicated because it had used tank water contaminated by the Muslims although it could not have helped it because no other drinking water was available. Conversions to Islam thus were often the result of Hindu bigotry rather than of its own merits. This class of converts was far more zealous in the service of Islam than even the Turks, because they were inspired not so much by devotion to the new faith as by hatred for their persecutors. Then there were people who felt sincerely attracted towards certain Muslim saints and sought initiation from them. But the Muslims generally abstained from communicating the mysteries of their faith to an unconverted Hindu. This also induced conversion to Islam in certain cases. Some people were forcibly converted as a penalty for crimes. Then the institutions of slavery and polygamy also rapidly multiplied the numbers of Muslims. But an average Hindu was rarely attracted towards Islam, despite its simplicity and the principle of social equality. He preferred to seek social and spiritual advancement only within the four corners of his own ancient traditions.

Muslims have an uncompromising faith not only in the unity of God but also in the manifest form of reality being one and single. According to them there is only one true religion—that which is embodied in the *Quran*. Refusing to accept this is, according to them, wilful persistence in error. They look upon it as an act of piety to bring those persisting in error within the light of religion, by persuasion if possible, by force if necessary. Among the Christians also, there was emphasis on the grace of God on the one hand and the kindly act of purifying the soul of heretics by burning them alive. To a certain extent, this is true of Islam also. In Islam theologians and the agents of government went hand in glove and it rejected the seeming diversity of truth. Consequently, when differences of opinion about the interpretation of the *Quran* led to the emergence of contending sects in Islam, they did not follow the Indian practice of seeking the truth by peaceful discussions but tried to suppress all heresy at the point of the sword. Consequently, Shias and Mahdawis conspired against Sunni Sultans and attempted to murder them. The Sultans, on their part, threw their leaders into prison, subjected them to torture or ordered their execution in order to suppress the rising tempo of heresy.

SUFIS :

The *Sufis* form the liberal element in Islam and it is by their efforts that Islam has acquired some respect in India. There were many orders of the *Sufis* which slightly differ from one another in certain matters. But there is a lot of common ground. The term *Sufi* is generally used for that class of Muslim saints which clad itself in simple woollen garments with a view to live the life of poverty and humility and which instead of accepting the literal external meaning of the *Quran* lays greater emphasis on its underlying mysteries. Instead of depriving God of form and attributes they impute to him the qualities of effulgence, love, mercy, generosity and immanence. Instead of inculcating fear of the wrath of God, they put forward the ideal of securing union with Him by pursuing the path of perfect love. The most outstanding attribute of God, according to the *Sufis*, is his effulgence and they dwell upon his lustre, glory and splendour in various ways. They feel that it is His glory that is reflected in every object, nay every little particle, in the universe. That is why they recommend love and kindness to all created beings. As a corollary of this, many *Sufis* were strict vegetarians. Regarding lust as the most serious obstacle in the path of devotion to God they practised a number of yogic exercises as a means of suppressing or sublimating it. Removing the sheaths of ignorance and impurity encrusting the heart, they contemplate on God with a feeling of utter sincerity and purity. They recognize the value of repetition of God's name and sometimes resort to music of a loving devotional character as an aid to concentration. The fervour of music often led to heightening of emotion which ended in ecstatic dancing. While admitting the doctrine of immanence, they do not support idol-worship. Their goal is union with God. The ritual of Islam, therefore, has no fascination for them. Some among them went to the length of saying that faith in the prophethood of Muhammad could in no way help in their spiritual progress and therefore they regarded only first half of the *Kalima* (La ilah illillah—there is no God except Allah) as relevant to their purpose. In each of these orders, the preceptor or the *pir* has a great importance because it is only under his guidance that spiritual progress is possible. The *pir*, therefore, receives in practice more reverence and honour than Allah. The more celebrated Muslim saints of this period were Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti, Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-shakar, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Nizamuddin Auliya, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Chiragh-i-Dehlawi, Khwaja Shaikh Taqiuddin, Malik Muhammad Jayasi and Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliori. As a result of their influence, *Yoga* and mysticism entered the fold of Islam while the importation of the sentiment of love for the divine helped to reduce its austere rigidity.

The orthodox *ulema* while recognizing the services of the *Sufis* in the spread of Islam regarded them as unorthodox in certain respects and therefore subjected them at times to considerable persecution. They incurred the wrath of the bigoted element because of their addiction to music and dancing, support of celibacy, faith in the immanence of God and neglect of *namaz*, *roza* and *hajj*. But because most of them were men of sterling character, they commanded high respect among the Muslims and the king and commoner alike looked upon it as a great privilege to be able to render them some service.

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM AND HINDUISM ON EACH OTHER:

As Hinduism and Islam lived in India cheek by jowl, it was natural that they should influence each other. Among the Hindus, the caste rules became more vigorous in the beginning while in the later stages the institution of caste itself became suspect in the eyes of many a Hindu. Its rigidity, therefore considerably wore off. Popular faith in idol worship remained unshaken but certain sections gave it up altogether. New arguments had therefore to be devised in its favour. It was said that the *archa* (worshipped) form of God is the idol. The glory and effulgence of God is evoked in the idol as a result of its worship by devotees. But if an unworthy person entered the temple, the divine glory forsook the idol temporarily or even for all time. Thus the idols destroyed and desecrated by the Muslims were mere pieces of stone or metal because with the entry of the *mlechchha* into the temple the divine effulgence left the idol for good. Idol worship had never been obligatory for all Hindus. It was merely the first step to devotion to God. He who gets stuck there permanently wilfully checks his own progress. Thus idol-worship now lost some of its former popularity. The lower classes among the Hindus were now treated better and the path of salvation or entry into heaven was thrown open to them. Excessive popularity of *bhakti* during this period might also be the indirect outcome of the entry of Islam into India. Although the basic elements of *bhakti* had been present in the land since centuries before the birth of Islam. Krishnaite Vaishanavism as taught by Chaitanya and Vallabha might have been partially influenced by the emotional aspect of Sufism although its main source is undoubtedly the *Bhagwata Purana.* The Muslims likewise have been influenced by the Hindu doctrine of *Karma*, pre-determination and monism. The mosques and the tombs acquired greater sanctity in India because of the indirect influence of Hinduism. Hindu social customs also affected the Muslims and widow-remarriage and divorce began to be frowned upon even among them. Liberal elements in both the communities helped to bring them closer and mutual hatred and bitterness was considerably blunted. But the evil deeds of fanatical Muslims and persecuting monarchs occasionally upset the efforts at reconciliation. On the whole, we may say, sincere goodwill and amity never existed between the two communities in general. But there were numerous Hindu and Muslim families which on the individual plane came very close together as fraternal neighbours.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING :

As a result of the religious upheavals of the day, a number of works were composed in Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Apabhramsha, and the regional languages such as Hindi, Maithili, Bengali, Gujerati, Gurumukhi, Marathi, Tamil etc. Some of these were biographies of great men and in some there was a discussion of religious doctrines on the basis of the scriptures. There were some poetical works also in which sentiments of *bhakti* found expression. Numerous devotional songs, instinct with personal love for the divine, were composed and found currency even among the illiterate masses. Thus as a result of the activities of religious reformers literature flourished, the regional languages were developed and popular education was facilitated.

Besides, there were pure literary compositions also. Men of letters were honoured and patronised during this period by all governments and this helped emergence of new authors. Among Persian poets the more celebrated names are those of Amir Khusrau, Mir Hasan Dehlawi, Badr Chach, and Isami. Historiography also received special attention during this period and the most outstanding authors in this field were Minhaj-us-siraj, Ziya-uddin Barani, Shams-i-Siraj Afif, and Yahya bin Ahmad. Ain-ul-mulk Multani has collected specimens of letter-writing, all from his own pen, in *Insha-i-Mahru*.

In Sanskrit, besides works on philosophy and religion, a number of dramas, biographics and poetical compositions were produced. The Jains wrote a number of books in Apabhramsha. Establishment of local Muslim dynasties helped local dialects assume a literary form but it arrested the growth of Sanskrit learning and literature. The regional languages received a further fillip from the efforts of religious reformers. Many Sanskrit classics were translated into local languages. All this helped in the cultural enrichment of the land.

Muslims established a number of *maktabs* and *madrasas* mostly with state aid, where generally no tuition fees were charged. In *madrasas*, the subjects taught included theology, literature, science, history, politics, and jurisprudence. To each mosque, a *maktab* was generally attached where children of the neighbourhood were given coaching in the three R's. elementary Persian, and reading the *Quran*. Sufis also sometimes ran schools with the help of state grants in cash or land. Here greater emphasis was laid on the study of philosophy and metaphysics. As reading the *Quran* was supposed to have great religious merit, percentage of literacy should have been quite high.

Educational institution of the Hindus received no help from the Sultans. This was not very unexpected either. They believed it sacrilegeous to assist in the propagation of the Hindu faith and as every educational institution of the Hindus imparted some religious instruction also, it was impossible for the Sultans to grant them any aid or assistance. There was no restriction on a Hindu attending a Muslim institution but in the atmosphere then prevailing number of such students must have been very small. Vikramashila and Nalanda in Bihar, Navadwipa in Bengal, and Kashi in the Madhyadesh remained important centres of Hindu learning even though they were not seats of government. After the coming of the Turks the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramashila closed down and collections of manuscripts in their libraries were blotted out of existence. Each city and town had Sanskrit Pathshalas while in each village there was provision for learning elementary reading, writing and arithmetic. But the state made no attempt to regulate, organise or systematise public education. The poorer and the lower classes in society therefore had little of education and they had strong faith in witch-craft, efficacy of charms and amulets and the need to propitiate ghosts and evil spirits. The higher classes also had some leanings in that direction but they were comparatively more enlightened.

FINE ARTS :

Islam condemns music, dancing and painting as unlawful. In spite of this prohibition, these arts did not altogether disappear from Muslim lands, for to give an artistic expression to one's deeper sentiments one may choose the vehicle of words, another of rhythmical sound while still another of the colour and the brush. In India music continued to flourish because of the influence of Sufi saints, Hindu preachers of the *Bhakti* school, royal courts and slave-dealers. It is recorded about Sikandar Lodi that his court musicians were so proficient in their art that wine-girls forgot to take round the wine and fell down enraptured. In the reign of Raja Man of Gwalior a music college was established at Gwalior one of whose products was Tansen. Dancing girls, prostitutes and slavegirls also chose music as an aid to their professions. Dancing was highly cultivated in the south and Lord Shiva was represented in a dancing pose as *Nataraja* (the king of dancers).

But painting practically disappeared during this period. Most of the scholars are of opinion that absence of material should not be taken as a positive proof of the disappearance of the race of Ajanta painters altogether. Recently some specimens of medieval painting have also come to light. In Bengal have been found some crude specimens of palm leaf painting. There are some illustrations in Jain religious books. But these are all of a crude type. On the walls of the Man Mandir at Gwalior and the temples of Ellora there are some remains of mural painting. When Akbar started organising a school of painters at the court, many Indians also found a place in it. If painting as an art had really ceased to exist in India no Hindu could have found a place among the greatest painters of Akbar. In the absence of state patronage, some painters were probably obliged to stop their work. Decline of Buddhism also led to languishing of painting. It is also possible that some specimens of the art of those days have been destroyed by time or man. But it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion on the basis of mere surmises.

Architecture and sculpture made great strides during the medieval age. Hindu Rajas, Turkish Sultans and the wealthier classes in society all vied with one another in the construction of noble edifices and embellishing them with fine sculptures.

A majority of the buildings of this period are temples, mosques and forts. At some places towers of victory were erected, while at others remains of palaces furnish examples of royal residential quarters. Hindu temples fall under three main groups :

(1) *The Khajuraho type.*—In temples of northern India, the *shikhar* takes the form of a huge tower which gets narrower and narrower as it rises from its base to its top which is surmounted by a huge *amalaka* and *Kalasha.* The exterior is relieved and embellished by a variety of sculptural devices, such as engravings, miniature *shikhars*, human and animal figures and statuettes of gods and goddesses. Temples of this class are found at Bhuwaneshwar (Orissa), Khajuraho (Uttar Pradesh) and Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh). The older temples of Rajputana and Gujerat also fall under this group.

(2) *The temples of South India.*—These are found in the wide tract extending from Maharashtra to Mysore and Hyderabad. The *shikhar* of this group was another distinctive type. It was no longer a tower-like structure. Instead, it rose divided in flights of stairs or storeys. In between, there were bands of flat spaces worked out in statuettes and other designs. It were these bands which gave the *shikhar* an appearance of division into many flights of storeys.

(3) *The Dravidian type.*—Examples of this are found at Ellora, Tanjore, Madura, Srirangam etc. In this case the *shikhara* rose in a pyramidal form, one pile of structure rising above another and each succeeding pile getting smaller in dimensions thus producing the effect of the *shikhara* gradually becoming narrower and narrower. These temples are generally huge structures and they have a lot of space for fine sculpturing.

There are certain common features in the three types. The inner shrine where the idol of the principal deity was installed was located at a fair distance from the main entrance and its dimensions were such that only a small number of persons could enter it at a time. On the inside walls, pillars and architraves etc. there was elaborate decoration often executed in a minute style. The main entrance generally led into a huge quadrangle. The main entrance of the temple was disproportionate to its size and had a diminutive appearance. The motifs in stone and the devices of stone were so elaborate that they produced the impression of infinite variety in the universe. The doors of the temples are almost always rectangular and there is no use of the dome as an architectural device. That they knew how to construct a dome is proved by the construction of Buddhist stupas but they probably did not appeal to their aesthetic sense as pieces of art.

Among the Hindu forts of the period, special reference is made to the forts of Gwalior, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Kalinjar and Warangal but none of them has come down to us as a complete structure. We can, therefore, form an exact idea about them only from descriptions in contemporary literature. Only those forts were considered impregnable which were surrounded by a deep and wide ditch filled with water or which stood up above the crest of a rock and whose walls were thick and strong and difficult to scale and which had a good water supply and sufficient provision for storing food and war material.

The monuments of the Turks and Afghans include mostly mosques, tombs, madrasas and forts. The forts built by them also have either disappeared altogether or are mostly a heap of ruins. But the mosques and tombs are still available in a fair number. Just like the Sultans of Delhi, the rulers of local Muslim dynasties and members of the nobility also have a number of mosques and tombs to their credit. Muslim rulers were in the habit of building their own tombs in their own life-time and probably used them as retiring chambers. The heat of India was intolerable to them. They therefore planned the tombs in such a manner that they should not only provide protection against heat, dust, wind and the sun but that there should also be adequate provision for light and conformity to Islamic traditions. They threw domed roofings over them and instead of rectangular doors showed preference for arches. Either they eschewed decoration altogether or made use of coloured tiles, stones of different colours, faked windows and arches, interlacing of flowers and leaves with geometric patterns and inscription of extracts from the *Quran* in various styles of calligraphy to provide some relief to the eye.

Mosques also were characterised by an austere simplicity and the use of the arch and the dome as structural devices. They were generally of huge dimensions so that they might proclaim from a distance the establishment of Muslim rule in India and might have ample space for participants in the congregational prayers on Fridays. The earlier mosques were fashioned out of temples, with slight changes here and there. Hindu temples usually faced east while the Muslims turned towards the west at the time of prayer because the *Kaaba* of Mecca lay west of India. Therefore with the removal of the idol and throwing of a few arches on the back-wall there could be no difficulty in offering prayer there. The quadrangle in a temple also was fairly large otherwise wherever necessary they extended it by destroying the inner all-round verandah and the rows of rooms behind. The *Arhai din ka jhonpra* at Ajmer and the *Atala devi Mosque* at Jaunpur were examples of this type. Another special feature of early structures is that neither the masons knew the correct manner of building the arch and the dome nor were their products pleasing to the eye. The arches of *Quwwat-ul-Islam* mosque at Delhi are of this type. By the time of Alauddin, the proper manner of building an 'arch' was learnt. The *Alai Darwaza* arches are much better than the older type both structurally and in respect of ornamentation. The importance of the tomb of Ghiyasuddin lies in the strength of its walls. The local styles developed during this period had some local features but in the principles of construction as such they make no new contribution. In Bengal they used coloured bricks and tiles and made archuate roofs as a protection against heavy rainfall. The Gujerat and Malwa schools specialized in the art of making exquisite stone screens and lattices and in designing *baolies* (wells with under-ground cool chambers, approached by artistic stairs). The Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur was remarkable for its beautiful and imposing facades. The southerners specialized in the construction of domes and *minars*.

The *Qutb Minar*, founded by Aibak, completed by Iltutmish and on being damaged in an earthquake, repaired by Firuz is the most outstanding monument of this period. It was designed as a memorial of Turkish triumph in India and it has received all-round praise from art-critics for the character of its ornamentation which on the one hand fully conforms to Islamic ideals and on the other produces an effect of exquisite beauty and fine workmanship. The Ranas of Mewar built *Jayastambha* and *Kirti Stambha* to commemorate their victory over the Sultan of Malwa. But they were far less high in comparison to the *Qutb Minar* and were designed to conform to Hindu ideals of art. The *Qutb Minar* thus stands in a class by itself.

Among the Afghans builders, Sher Shah alone struck a new line of construction. His tomb at Sahasram has been judged to be superior to any that had been built in India till then. He improved the construction of forts as well and founded the new Rohtas fort in the Punjab which was completed by his son Islam Shah. Some of the *sarais* of Sher Shah and the Gomti bridge at Jaunpur are also remarkable structures.

The buildings of this period though executed according to the orders of the Muslims and therefore in conformity to Islamic ideals, were built by Hindu masons and architects. Indo-Muslim monuments have thus a uniqueness of their own and they considerably differ from contemporary mosques and tombs outside India. This uniqueness is the gift of Indian environment and Indian craftsmen. Similarly, Muslim art traditions affected Hindu ideals so that the temples of this period appear to be of a different class from ancient monuments. The Rajputs also started building *chhatris*, the Hindu replica of tombs and the arch and the dome began to be used in Hindu buildings as well. But the time for a scientific synthesis had not yet arrived. This was done later by Akbar.

CONCLUSION :

This brief review of early medieval society and culture shows that its contribution in the development of the later civilization of India was remarkaable indeed. Two different cultures came in contact with one another and although in the earlier stages the reaction of each was inspired by suspicion, distrust and hostility, it later led to a free exchange of ideas in all walks of life which gave birth to a new culture which was neither purely Turkish nor purely Hindu but a composite Indian Culture.

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Further Readings

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4. Ishwari Prasad—Medieval India, Chap. 18.
5. Haig—Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. Chap. 23.
6. Percy Brown—Indian Painting pp. 42-46.
7. Hiriyanna—Essentials of Indian Philosophy.
8. Titus—Indian Islam.
9. Nicholson—Mystics of Islam.

CHRONOLOGY

[*N. B.* Figures in brackets indicate the relative page number]

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555	Birth of Khadija (4)
570	Birth of Muhammad (4)
619	Death of Khadija (4)
622	Muhammad's flight to Medina : Hijri Era begins (4)
632	Death of Muhammad (4)
,,	Abu Bakr becomes the Caliph (6)
634	Umar succeeds as Caliph (6)
644	Usman becomes the third Caliph (6)
656	Ali succeeds as the fourth Caliph (6)
661	Death of Ali ; deposition of Hasan ; Muawiya founds the Umayyad Caliphate (6)
713	Arab Conquest of Sindh (8)
715	Recall of Muhammad bin Qasim (8)
750	End of the Umayyads (6)
750-1258	Rule of the Abbasids (13)
753-774	Caliphate of Mansur (10)
786-809	Caliphate of Harun (10)
788	Birth of Shankaracharya (494)
820	Death of Shankaracharya (494)
874	Samanid dynasty founded (13)
971	Birth of Mahmud of Ghazni (18)
972	Accession of Piritigin (16)
977	Subuktagin seizes Ghazni (14)
986	Jayapala attacks Subuktagin (16)
991	Confederacy under Jayapala fails against Subuktagin (17)
994	Mahmud appointed commander of the army in Khorasan (18)
998	Accession of Mahmud (17)
999	Ismail expelled from Ghazni (18)
,,	Mahmud annexes Khorasan (19)
,,	End of the Samanids (13)
,,	Caliph grants recognition to Mahmud (18)
,,	Mahmud vows annual raids against India (19)
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1002	Mahmud captures Sistan (19)
,,	Jayapala commits self-immolation (22)
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